VOLUME 1, PART 1-3 DECEMBER '81

PRAJÑĀ-BHĀRATĪ

★

Chief Editor

PROF. DAMODAR THAKUR,
Director, Higher Education, Bihar.

★

K. P. JAYASWAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
PATNA
1981.

॥ भूयात् प्रज्ञाभारती भूतये नः ॥

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE
OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF BIHAR

प्रज्ञाभारती

प्रथम वर्ष, अंक 1–3

PRAJÑĀ-BHĀRATĪ

Managing Editor
DR. JATA SHANKAR JHA
Director,
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute
PATNA.

K. P. JAYASWAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
PATNA
1981.

Published by
Dr. J. S. Jha, *Director*,
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute,
PATNA.

Prices Rs. 60.00 (Sixty) only.

Printed by
L. N. Mithila University Press,
Kameshwaranagar, Darbhanga
Bihar State (INDIA).

Chief Editor's note.

In the early fifties of the present century the Government of Bihar established the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna for research and publication works in Indian History and Culture, and the Nava Nalanda Mahavihar at Nalanda, the Mithila Research Institute at Darbhanga and the Prakrit Institute at Vaishali for post graduate studies and researches in Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit respectively. On my assumption of the charge of the Director of Higher Education in Bihar their general supervision and direction came to me. I found that each of these Institutes had a number of good publications to their credit. A few had their bulletins also. But there was no research journal. In a joint meeting of the Directors of these Institutes, therefore, it was decided to bring out a research journal to be called **Prajñā Bhāratī**

The **Prajñā Bhāratī** aims at embodying primarily the research activities and achievements of the abovesaid research Institutes. But it will also endeavour to associate with its activities individuals and institutions engaged elsewhere in works of allied nature. The original idea was to bring out three issues of the journal in January-May and September every year, and there was enthusiastic response from scholars to our request for research papers. But our experience has shown that for its timely publication it needs better press facilities and more hands exclusively for this work.

Our thanks are due to the Government of Bihar for financing generously the publication of this journal. To our contributors, particularly Dr. K.K. Datta Dr. S. H. Askari, Dr. Aruna Haldar, Dr. B. P. Sinha and Dr. V. Varadachari we owe a special thank for their kind association and contribution of learned papers.

Sd/- **D. THAKUR**

Contents

Page No.





Some Original Notes
About The Indian Movement of 1857-59 in Bihar

KALIKINKAR DUTTA

Bihar was an important centre of the Indian Movement of 1857-59 under the leadership of Kunwar Singh. Records relating to it are available at different places.

In March, 1954 some highly valuable manuscript records relating to the Bihar phase of the Indian Movement of 1857-59 and preserved in the Patna Commissioner's office came to my notice. These are :-

(1) Message of April, 1858, from the Commissioner of Patna, Mr. E. A. Samuells, who had succeeded Mr. William Tayler on 5 August, 1857 :

"First Message,--Letter just received from the Magistrate of Arrah of 22nd April. Expedition did not go out last night, fearful lest rebels might come another road and attack Arrah. Koer Singh (Kunwar Singh) is at Jugdespore with men. Lost his arm and wounded in thigh. Report that European force had come up with the rebels at the river yesterday. Killed a considerable number and took their guns and Treasure, proposed plan to march to Jugdespore in the evening of the 22nd and attacked the enemy the following morning, no further news from Chupra. Patna Steamer after landing ladies and treasure has returned.

Second Message, -- I have information received from Buxar. Douglas appears to have attacked the rebels at Bunsdee on the 20th and killed a number of them. He was pursuing them most energetically. 150 of the 54th were to be sent from Ghazeepore to Bulloh on 20th on board Agra but the Steamer seems to have been detained. Cumberleges force at Gamarce on 20th. I am sorry, Lugard[1] has not waited for Douglas[2] before attacking Jugdespore, but he is a prudent officer and he has good men under him. Boyle[3] tells me that Cutcherry is quite safe if nothing heavier than fieldpieces are brought against it. Message ends."

1. Sir Edward Lugard, who had been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to press Kunwar Singh in April 1858.
2. Brigadier Douglas.
3. Railway Civil Engineer at Arrah.

(2) In a letter from the Officer Commanding at Benares to Colonel Birch, Military Secretary to the Government of India, dated 25 April, 1858, we get the following information about Kunwar Singh's victory over a party of British troops :

"I have just received by express a copy of a letter from Mr. Bowring from Mr. Madock, Dy. Collector, Buxar, stating that a force which had been sent from Arrah to meet Koer Singh in the direction of Jugdespore, had been totally defeated, 2 of our guns being captured by the enemy. The Arrah detachment it is said, consisted of 250 or 300 men, and the spies report that only 25 or 35 Europeans, 30 or 35 Sikhs and 7 officers were seen by them returning to Arrah. If this is true our loss has been very heavy. Koer Singh is entrenching himself in the Jungles and is burning all villages the inhabitants of which won't join him. He has 1,500 Sepoys and rabble up to 4 or 5,000."

(3) In one of his letters addressed to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on 14 June 1958, Mr. Samuells wrote as follows regarding the successful movements of the followers of Kunwar Singh under the leadership of his brother Amar Singh, even after the death of that brave Rajput chief :

"I regret to have to report that a body of the rebels under Umur Singh said to be altogether about 1,500 in number has returned to the Jugdispore Jungle, and were by the latest accounts at Rujya on the west side of the Jungle. They must have crossed the Kurumnassa near Soupa and gone off to the East, while Brigr. Douglas was crossing it lower down in an opposite direction. They made their appearance at Mudnurpore about 4 miles south of Captain Rattray's at Roop Saugor on the 12th, they fired a few shots into his camp but did not attempt to molest him otherwise, and following pretty nearly the same tract by which they had advanced, re-entered the Jungle as I have above stated at Rujya. General Lugard is at Dalupoor about 5 miles North of Rujya with the 10 Foot and I believe the Madras Rifles and some Guns and Cavalry. He was to be joined by Captain Rattray with his detachment of Sikhs now numbering about 400 yesterday. Extensive clearances have been made in the Jungle under the superintendence of Messrs. Barrows and Mylne of the firm of Burn & Co. since the rebels left it, and I trust that this may facilitate the General's movements and that the enemy may be so vigorously attacked as to compel them to abandon the Jungle for good.

A body of 3 or 400 rebels appears to have got across the Ganges, and to be doing great damage in the Ghazeepore district. They recently burnt down the Deputy Magistracy of Bulleah and will very probably seek to re-enter Shahabad after their mission of destruction in Ghazeepore is completed.

The object of the enemy as avowed by one of their number whom Captain Rattray captured a few days ago is to do as much damage as possible in order to compel the people whether from fear or the prospect of starvation to join them and to harass our troops by leading them up and down the country and avoiding fighting whenever it is possible to do so. They count much, it appears, on the rainy season when they think our troops will be compelled to go into quarters and to leave the interior of the country to them.

These are no doubt ingenious tactics and are probably the best which the enemy can now adopt, but it seems to me that they may easily be defeated by a judicious distribution of troops by rapid movements and by vigorous and determined attack, whenever an opportunity of striking a blow presents itself. The heat of the weather, it is true, is terribly against the European soldiers at the present moment, but this in all probability will soon be mitigated. Elephants which are now available in considerable numbers may be used to afford relief to the soldiers on their march and it has been found I think throughout this campaign that inaction is much more injurious to the health of the troops than exposure when accompanied with the prospect of action.

We must make a very vigorous effort to drive the enemy out of those districts. I allude particularly to Shahabad and Ghazeepore before the rains set in : otherwise the rebels will employ themselves during the rains in thoroughly disorganising those districts and in conducting expeditions into the neighbouring districts of Gaya, Patna and Saran. The natives will see with astonishment and it is to be feared with a diminution of respect for our power which is much to be deprecated that we are actually receding in this quarter instead of advancing, that districts hitherto quiet are being invaded and overrun, and this not by formible armies but by half armed gang of men so contemptible that in the various actions they have had with our troops they have never succeeded in killing above two or three of our men in fair fight.

I trust the Lieutenant Governor will press very strongly on the attention of the Military authorities the serious consequences which will most assuredly result if these miserable bands of rebels are allowed to remain in the Jugdispore Jungle and the Ghazeepore Doab during the approaching rainy season."

(4) In another letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 30 July 1858, Mr. Samuells thus narrated the activities of the followers of Amar Singh :

"The main body of the rebels still continue in the neighbourhood of Jugdishpore (Jagdishpore near Arrah), and ape our Government in

the appointment of Commissioners, Judges, and Magistrates. They even copy our revenue system (which some people tell us produced this rebellion) to the letter, and sell all the estates of our friends for arrears of revenue with as much punctuality as the Collector himself could evince. Umur Singh hung a sepoy the other day for the murder of a Bunneeah (bania), which shows that the rebels are compelled to conciliate the people occasionally by giving them justice even when the offending party is one of themselves."[1]

(5) An interesting and a very important correspondence relating to this topic has come to my notice in an old bound register in the Record Office of the Commissioner of Patna[2]. It is a long letter of the Commissioner of Patna, Mr. Samuells, addressed by him to the Secretary the Government of Bengal, on the 4 December, 1858, containing various observations from him on the two letters from his predecessor, Mr. William Tayler, dated 3 and 5 April, 1858, which again had been written "by way of rejoinder to the communication" which Mr. Samuells sent the Government on 29 January, 1858, "commenting on certain statements which had appeared in a pamphlet published by Mr. W. Tayler". Making allowance for personal recriminations[3] of the two officers, one of whom had replaced the other, I find that this document is full of relevant references to many important events of Bihar connected with the trial of the local leaders of the Wahabi movement and the movement of 1857-59. In consideration of time and space at my disposal here, I reproduce only some highly significant paragraphs of it.

(a) Insurrection at Patna on 3 July, 1857.

"Of the extent to which W. Tayler placed himself in the hands of Moula Buksh in this matter it is impossible however to judge without a short analysis of the proceedings of this Officer and of the evidence which he submitted to the Commissioner. It may be convenient that I should first state the facts of the case. The rioters from 5o to 100 in number appear to have assembled about 7 o'clock in the evening of the 3rd July at the house of Peer Ali Khan a bookseller who resided in a lane which leads off from the main street of the city of Patna. They issued from the lane into the main street with drums beating, colour flying and shouts of 'Ali' 'Ali'. Their heads and faces were bound up with cloths, fashion common to dacoits and latteewallas and they were armed with guns, which they occasionally discharged, swords, spears. They first

1. Copies of documents No. 1-4 studied here, were obtained by me a few years back from the National Archives of India.
2. I am obliged to the Commissioner of Patna for kindly permitting me to study it.
3. British officers of the Civil Service in India were not above these.

plundered the Catholic chapel which stands near the entrance of the lane and then proceeded eastward towards the opium godown plundering the shops and disarming the Police. They were encountered at different times by the patrol Darogah Syed-oo-deen and sowar of the name of Peer Beg. The Darogah shot one of the rioters dead but was himself so severely wounded that he subsequently died. The sowar wounded another and the rebels then fled west but shortly afterwards returned. Dr. Lyell[1] who had started on horseback from the godown on hearing of the disturbance with a small party of Sikhs and Nujeeb but had unfortunately cantered (sic) on alone was encountered by them on their return and shot dead. The Sikhs came immediately afterwards and found only three men on the spot who fled on being fired at. The rest had previously dispersed. The whole affair appears to have been over in about 3/4 of an hour" (para. 125).

(b) Tayler's tyranny at Patna in June and July, 1857 :

"The words which Mr. Tayler quotes were not applied, it will be observed, to him at all. The 7th and 8th paras referred expressly to my own policy. I challenged Mr. Tayler to prove that I had shown any tenderness for rebels or disaffected people and that challenge he passes by in silence. I repudiated on the other hand the policy of rigour towards the people of this country which Mr. Tayler had advocated at the 20th page of his pamphlet and pointed to the inevitable consequence of that policy. The 8th para refers to the same subject, but when I spoke of needless violence and petty annoyance I very probably had in my mind the accounts which I had received on all hands of the terror in which the people of Patna, lived during the months of June and July in consequence of the frequent arrests of respectable persons, the oppression of Gondas and the summary executions which took place as also the annoyance to which they were subjected by being confined to their houses after 8 o' clock. "The state of affairs at Patna is as follows : Some respectable parties of the City are in prison and the subjects are all weary and disgusted with the tyranny and oppression exercised by Government whom they all curse." This is a confidential communication found in the house of one of the conspirators. He does not refer; it will be seen, to the conspirators themselves but to the people at large. The writer was interested in conveying to his friends a true account of the state of affairs at Patna and there is no reason to doubt that he describes correctly the effect on the general body of the people of Mr. Tayler's proceedings" (para. 15.)

"I may leave Mr. Tayler's ideas that the daily sight of the gallows was likely to produce a good effect and that English ladies are fond of

1. The Principal Assistant to the Opium Agent in Bihar.

such spectacles to speak for themselves. As to matters of fact I will merely observe that the race course at Patna is, as I stated, 4 miles from the city, that it is a small confined place and that the houses of the residents enclose it on two sides. Mr. Tayler's proceeding in putting up a gallows there is precisely the same as if the Sheriff were to erect a gallows in Hyde Park, for the purpose of overawing the inhabitants of Wapping or Rotherhithe" (para. 47).

"Mr. Tayler is quite mistaken about the gallows at Muzafferpore. The place of execution, it is true, is on the race course because the Jail was originally in that neighbourhood but the gallows has never been permitted to remain there after the purpose for which it was erected has been secured and as the race course is not in the station it is not like that any lady can ever have seen the gallows unless she went for the express purpose" (para. 48).

"I have said in my January letter that there was a very general belief that the majority of the men hung by Mr. Tayler were innocent. Reports to this effect were current in Calcutta before I came up here and had, I believe, reached the ears of the Lieut. Governor. In the course of the first month or two after my arrival at Patna I noted the names of 14 men who were believed by different people who spoke to me on the subject to have been the victims of false evidence. This memorandum has been lost or mislaid for I cannot now find it. Of the fact that this report was prevalent, however, both here and in Calcutta there can be no doubt" (para. 123).

(c) Case of Lutf Ali, one of those imprisoned by Mr. Tayler but released by Mr. Samuells.

"I challenged Mr. Tayler to produce one fact in support of his charges against Lootfally and he gives us 15 paras about his own opinions instead. The fact is now, however, admitted that in the arbitration originated Mr. Tayler's bad opinion of Lootfally. Mr. Tayler had for several years been judge of adjoining district in which Lootfally had many business transactions but he had never heard anything against him. When he became Commissioner he found Lootfally here acting as a member of the Education Committee and in frequent association with all the gentlemen of the station. Mr. Tayler became arbitrator in the suit between Lootfally and his nephew. Still not a whisper against Lootfally reached him. Even in the arbitration Mr. Tayler discovered nothing against his previous character. All that he wrote to the Magistrate on the subject was in a letter open in some respects to the same objections as those afterwards addressed to Mr. Farquharson[1]

1. R. N. Farquharson, Judge of Patna.

that he had found Vilayut Ally's statements in the case to be true and Lootfally's to be false, not a word was said against the general character of the latter. Up to the time of his committing him for trial in fact we hear nothing of his notorious bad character and considering the deep offence which Lootfally had given Mr. Tayler by getting his arbitration set aside and opposing him in the matter of the Industrial School it is certain that Mr. Tayler would not have allowed Lootfally to continue on the Education Committee if he had any good grounds, such as the notoriety of his character for removing him. I stated in my former letter that Mr. Tayler's assertion of Looft Ally being a man of notoriously bad character was "wholly untrue" and I submit that Mr. Tayler's entire failure to support the assertion together with the strong presumptive evidence I have adduced on the other side fully bears out my statement" (para. 27).

"Mr. Tayler's 70th para affords a good exemplification of the morbid feeling which bears him to regard every question as a personal one. I had seen the papers in Lootf Ally's case before I left Calcutta. I made a further enquiries into it on my arrival and came to the conclusion at which every one who considers it impartially must arrive that Lootf Ally had been scandalously ill treated and that there was no reason whatever why he should not be received by the gentlemen of the station on the same terms as before his commitment. A decision on the point was absolutely necessary because he was a member of the Local Committee of Public Instruction and had sent to beg he might be permitted to pay his respects. It never for a moment occurred to me that by acting on my own convictions in this matter I could offend Mr. Tayler. In the court in which I had the honour to sit last year it was not usual in deciding an appeal to consider whether our decision would please the Judge whose orders we were reviewing. Mr. Tayler, however, considers that you ought to think only of the Judge's feelings and to disregard those of the suitors, nay, that if a suitor has already suffered injustice you should rather add to that injustice than run the risk of wounding the self love of the Judge who first took up the case. This appears to be a fair statement of his argument. I should rather have added to the indignities which had already been heaped on Lootf Ally though I believed him to have done nothing to deserve them, than have ruffled Mr. Tayler's susceptibility by treating the injured man with common civility. I can truly say that none of my public acts since I have been in this office have had any personal reference to Mr. Tayler nor have been dictated by any spirit of opposition to him. So far too have I been from wishing to apply technical rules of evidence to cases arising

out of the mutinies that the Lieutenant Governor will remember I declined to recommend the interference of Government in a case of Mr. Tayler's which formed the subject of a memorial to Government when the parties had been convicted without legal evidence because it seemed to me that there was moral evidence of their guilt and that Mr. Tayler was justified under the circumstances of the country in acting upon such evidence" (para. 35).

(d) About Kunwar Singh :

"In the same way the whole of the facts which constitute the charges are imaginary. The Board's order was not ill timed, for it was issued before the mutiny. The communication of the Board's message was not received by Kooer Singh in such a way as to justify Mr. Tayler's description of the probable effect of the measure threatened. Mr. Tayler did not exhibit the energy and promptitude he boasts of. On the contrary it was solely owing to his own carelessness and procrastination that the matter was not settled a month before the mutiny. The Lieutenant Governor did not show any want either of promptitude or decision. Mr. Tayler's assertions, that the Lieutenant Governor's dilatory mode of dealing with his recommendation either caused Kooer Singh's rebellion or added one inducement thereto falls entirely to the ground. Mr. Tayler may depend upon it, it will take much more fencing than he is master of to make any impression on these facts" (para. 74).

"That Kooer Sing sent round a circular to his villages in which he professed his belief that Mr. Tayler had summoned him to Patna for the purpose of hanging him and called upon his tenantry to save him, is a fact which the Magistrate and others in Major Eyre's[1] force learnt at Jugdespore and which is very generally known. A letter which I received from a gentleman in Shahabad who had excellent opportunities for getting at the truth and which without any reference to Mr, Tayler contains among other remarks on the state of the district and the causes of the rebellion the following passage :

"The general opinion and belief is that Kooer Sing's defection was forced on him 1st, by Mr. Tayler's improper treatment of the Wahabees in Patna and 2nd, by the indiscreat language used by Mr. (...). Could Kooer Sing have relied on Mr. Tayler's justice and impartiality he would have appeared at once notwithstanding Mr. (...) derogatory threat ; but seeing the whole system of hanging going on at Patna at the time and the breach of all honorable engagements indulged in by the head of the district. Kooer Sing in a moment of exasperation

1. Vincent Eyre who, on his way to Allahabad, relieved the besieged English garrison at Arrah.

and despair of being more honorably treated than others threw off his allegiance to the British government". "Another letter which has been mislaid in giving an account of the share which the different members of Kooer Sing's family took in the rebellion mentions particularly that while Umur Sing and other persons counselled Kooer Sing to obey the Commissioner's summons. Hurkissoon Sing who had from the first advocated rebellion, argued the arrest of the Wahabees and the executions at Patna as reasons why he should not trust himself there. The opinion that Kooer Sing did not obey Mr. Tayler's summons for fear of being seized on his arrival so far from being my supposition is very widely spread and certainly has probability on its side (Para 75).

Baba Nanak In History

PROF. S H. ASKARI

Max Muller, the great German Orientalist, in one of his biographical essays, observed," Great men do not come from the sky like shooting stars; they come in fulness of time; that is the time that lay behind, and the time that lay before them. We must know the work that others had done before them in order to understand the work that they themselves were meant to do." There is nothing self-originating and absolutely original in the world, and individuals and personalities also do not suddenly emerge into importance and come forth into view to evolve something new and act in isolation. What they do is largely determined by the existing environment and circumstances of the time and also due to what has come from the past. Undoubtedly, the venerable originator of the reformative movement which gave rise to, and eventually resulted in, what Carpenter calls the semi-national church fellowship of Sikhism, was a great man. It has also to be conceded that times were ripe enough for the advent of a great and God-inspired man to act as a harbinger of much needed reforms. But did Baba Nanak come as a lighting flash out of Heaven to give off a discharge of dazzling brightness ? Can it be denied that all great men have some background and there is much for them to receive consciously or unconsciously from those who have gone before, and have prepared the ground for their work and mission. It may be that such great men arrive at the same identical views and ideas either through direct communication with each other, or because they catch the ideas floating in the atmosphere. They may go ahead, effect some marked improvement, prove more successful, and lay down legacies which as a result of the efforts of their successors prove to be more abiding and enduring. It is, however, not necessary for a student of history to become so enthused and rapturous as the votaries of the faith and take for granted all that has been said and attributed to their spiritual master and also agree fully with those who overemphasise the continuing influence and impact of one so as to throw into the background and virtually belittle the work of others who have flourished in the past.

The late Mr. I. B. Banerjee took just exception to some of the remarks of Gunningham, the European historian of Sikhism, that the

other reformers had no programme of social amelioration and has pointed out his own later contradictory statement that "there is neither probable, nor is it necessary to suppose that he (Guru Nanak) possessed any clear and sagacious views of social amelioration or of political advancement. He left the progress of his people to the operation of times". Mr. Banerjee concedes that Guru Nanak prepared the ground for a religion of householders by nominating his favourite 'Chela', Lehna, better known as Angad, as his successor, to the exclusion of the claims of either of his two sons, Sri Chand and Lakhmi Chand, and that he planted the germs of a nation only in the sense that Sikhism grew out of the foundation provided by him, but he is not prepared to describe the personality of Baba Nanak to quote in the words of Maclood as the "determinative formulator of the beliefs which have ever since constituted the primary basis of the Sikh religion", or that the other reform movements were much too wedded to the nothingness of the world, and they advocated renunciation. It is difficult not to agree with Banerjee. Was not Kabir, for instance, a house-holder and a family man ? Did he not believe in the dignity of labour and acquisition of means of subsistence by pouring the sweats of one's brows. Did he believe in living on Charity and forsaking the home for Tapassya or penance in jungle ? Was he not constantly at work at his looms while thinking of God and singing his hymns ?

Guru Nanak was not alone in being a man of people and a man of God, in displaying unity of practice and precepts, in delivering a message of oneness of God, of truth, peace and love. Guru Nanak was a historical figure and his services to Hindu religion and society were great and important; but he was not the first saint reformer to hurl defiance at undemocratic institutions like that of caste system and to deprecate celibacy, isolationism, formalism, empty dogmatism, external practices and rituals. Many of his noble predecessors had done the same thing and had shown the same attitude. He was one of the illustrious band of saints, seers, and reformers, with this difference that he was much more a man of actions than the in and not so individualistic as them but had community feeling and was interested in corporate responsibility.

There is no denying that he possessed some exceptional excellences and his code of religion and morality, institutions of Guruship, of Langar, and of Sadh-Sangat or congregational assembly have had abiding impacts on the virile people of the Punjab to whom the call of religious revivalism made strong appeals. Natural resentment against excesses committed by alien rulers who claimed a monopoly of truth for their own single religion and dissatisfaction with existing socio-religious condition had been for long in the past. He may have felt more of the tyranny of

times of might, of form and of name. But it would be diffieult to believe that all that he said and did was startingly original for one or other of his predecessors had clearly stressed one or other aspects of his teachings and ideals. Placing absolute reliance on all that they find in their hagiographical literature, many of our Sikh friends take the first of their spiritual preceptors as more than a great religious teacher and a unique personality as an apostle of peace and brotherhood of mankind and they accept him virtually as a divine personality rather than a historical figure. Some have given expression to their pious belief that the Great Guru burst into world to explode the normities of the time with his revolutionary message and mission and that he was not the product of his times for in his very infancy he showed signs of greatness, learning, service of the poor, and love for the Almighty. Hagiography, whether of Hindus or of Muslims and Christians, is full of things showing how saints are made, and the historical personality and deeds are always eclipsed by myths, miracles and legends.

It is high time, therefore, first to consider dispassionately, as an humble student of history, the sources of Sikh history, the bockground, circumstances and conditions behind the religious reformation movement, with special reference to the work done by the saints and poets of the Bhakti schools of the past; the environment and time at the advent of the great founder of Sikhism in respect of existing socio-political and religious conditions, strictly from historical point of view, untramelled by sentiments, traditions and old and new currents of public opinion, so as to arrive at correct appraisal, as far as it is possible, of the man and his mission.

There is no contemporary account of the founder of Sikhism, and there is nothing surprising about it. The earliest works about the Prophet of Islam also, Al-maghazi, compiled by Ibn-e-Ishaq, who died in 151 A. H., and its recension by Ibn-i-Hisham which came before his death in 213 A. H., the work of Waqdi, and the Tabaqat of his secretary, Ibn Sa'ad came still later. For secular history which deals with facts sacred literature is not very helpful for they abound in much that is supernatural and irrational. These may not be easily spurned by the professors of the faith, but have to be carefully examined by other, About the biographical literature of Guru Nanak Mr. I. B. Banerjee writes, "If we leave out the few vague references in Guru Nanak's hymns to possible incidents in his life, we are faced with the fact that we possess no contemporary account of the founder of Sikhism, and the oldest that we have were written one, half a century, and the other, sixty years after his death. Mr. Macleod has made a fairly de-

tailed and critical study of numerous traditional biographies called Janam Sakhis or Birth Witnesses, specially of four, The first is Puratam group consisting of Colebrook and Hafizabad versions of which the original, probably of the first half of the 17th century, has not been traced. Not much importance can be attached to the Sakhi of Sewa Das about which Macauliffe was informed by his Sikh admirers that it was the first and was written in 1588, for that. Irish scholar and Civilian had not himself seen it. Of the second, which consisted of 6 volumes of Sodhi Meharban of hostile Mina set, founded by Prithi Chand, son of Ram Das, the forth Guru, only 3 pothis are available. Its original is dated between 1640 and 1650. The third comprises of Bhai Bala's highly popular traditions, accepted by the devout but gullible worshippers as authoritative, but found not only by Macleod but also by a Sikh scholar, Karam Singh, to be untrust-worthy and devoid of intrinsic reliability. Macauliffe, to assuage the injured feelings of the Sikhs by the alleged 'Odium Theologicum', displayed in his translation with some commentary of Adi Granth by Dr. Earnest Trump, a German missionary (1877), offered his 6 volumes of English translation with some commentary of sikh scriptures, depending absolutely on what the Sikh Gyanis told him. He speaks highly of Bhai Bala's versions and describes it as the earliest of the Janam Sakhis for the Bhai is said to have been the companion of the first two Gurus. It is significant that Bhai Bala's name does not occur in the long list of well known Sikhs furnished by Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Mani Singh. The fourth and the relatively late collection is Gyan Ratnavali and Mehraban's Sakhi, compiled by a companion of Guru Gobind Singh, the 10th Guru, named Bhai Mani Singh. It is said to be based on, and an expanded version of, the first var (heroic odes or songs in praise) consisting of 23 stanzas of Bhai Gurdas Bhala who is said to have been the nephew of Amir Das, the 3rd Guru, and also an amanuensis of Guru Arjun, the 5th Guru, and the compilor of Adi Granth. The vars of Bhai Gurdas, though historically important, for he is regarded as a contemporary of no less than by Gurus, is said to have been associated with Sikhism for about half a century and had met Bhai Budha who had been with Guru Nanak himself, are not taken as a Janam Sakhi.

Khushwant Singh regards the references in the vars of Gurdas to the events of Baba Nanak as authentic, But the account in the first var is very scrappy and not devoid of myths, Macleod writes, "We may attach a greater degree of trust to it than to the Puratan and Mehraban's Janam Sakhis; but it also contains almost as many miraculous or otherwise unacceptable details as the Puratan version, and in one instance more than that of Mehraban. In the encounter with the 84

Sidhas on legendary Mount Sumexu, there is the anachronistic reference to many hundred years older Gorakh Nath and Machhendra Nath. Then there is the story of the jewels by the lakeside which the Meharban records lack. Again, in Mecca, we have the moving Kaaba which is an echo and adaptation of a similar legend of the Vaishnavite saint of Pandharpur, Namdeva, according to Macnicol. In Achal Batala version we find the jogis turning into lions, wolves, birds and snakes. In it intrinsic unreliability and fabulous details the Bala traditions far exceed others both qualitatively and quantitatively. The legendary accretions are particularly prominent in verses concerning regions, 'Khand' and Dip'. The relatively late Gyan Ratnavali offers little which is not available in earlier Janam Sakhis. As regards the remaining two, the Puratan tradition appears to be earlier and more reliable than Meharban; but both share a common source and almost similar accounts, The biographical matters are, however, comparatively small. The miraculous stories recorded in Meharban are, on the whole, less grotesque than those in Puratan. There is no description in it of Mardana, the drummer, being turned into lamb or ram in Assam, no reference to the victory of an army of insects, possessing human faculties, on an army of men; the conversation of a man who had been reincarnated as an wolf; no mention of Bahauddin's magic prayer mat; and no account of Raja Siva Nath of Ceylone, killing and stewing his own son at Guru Nanak's command. Meharban's Janam Sakhi is also by no means devoid of such fantastic stories. But he offers a more reasonable chronology and his discription of a single all-embracing visit to holy places of India is more probable; but he too takes the Guru to Ceylone and Arabia.

These legendary accretions detract from the value of such literature as source-books. Some demythologizing is needed to facilitate correct understanding and acceptance of the life and works of the Great Guru.

In his search for facts and realities Mr. Macleod has divided these so called sources, so greatly prized by the Sikh beliefs, into 5 Catagories established, probable, possible. improbable and impossible. without going into details it would suffice here to say that the last is lavish and recklessly extravagant, and the first is few and restricted to the substratum of factual affairs and incidents lying beneath a mass of what is fantastic and fanciful, brought in as settings for the verses and sayings of Guru Nanak. To quote Macleod "There is obviously much that must be rejected as impossible and in contrast there is little which might be accepted without reserve".

Mr. Macleod has taken up most items of the incidents and episodes, recorded in different Janam Sakhis; has compared the corresponding and different versions; and attempted a skeleton-outline of the life and activities of the Great Guru on the basis of what is capable of being affirmed. He has also made mention of the two authentic sources, the Four verses of Babar Vani or utterances concerning Babar which are ascribed to Baba Nanak as his own composition, and the Adi Granth or the Bible of the Sikhs and the greatest authority on Sikhism, compiled by the 5th Guru, Arjun, in 1607. But the historical incidents and biographical matters are very few for their main interest lay in religion. Of course we know from them that the Great Guru witnessed with anguish the depredation committed by Babar's Mughal soldiery; that Guru Nanak may have been present on, and saw the sack of, Saidpur, tnough Saidpur itself has nowhere been mentioned; and that his people were very much dis-satisfied with the rule of the Lodis who, we are told, deservedly met with their doom. There may be some truth in a surplus Sloka handed down by tradition "Dahore Saharu Jaharu, Kaharu Sava Paharu" (Lahore city, poison, violence, and a watch and a quarter) for Babar defeated the army led by Bihar Khan Lodi at Lahore and then sacked the city. But the description given in the 4 verses of Babar Vani "the Mughal and Pathan fought each other, wieldling swords in the battlefield; one side took aim and fireguns; the other urged on elephants" suggests that they were written after 1526 which marked the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty. An enigmatic line from a surplus Sloka is often quoted to show the prophetic vision of the Guru "let Hindustan remember what I now say The arrival of the Mughals shall be in 78; their departure in 97, and another disciple of a warrior (Marad ka Chela) i. e. Sher Shah will arrive". This refers to Babar's entry into India in S. 1578—1521 and Humayun's defeat by Sher Shah in S 1597—1540, an event which followed Guru's death. Much of these as also the account of the interview of the Guru with Babar his meeting with Bahaudrin Zakari, Faredshakeganj, and the Nathpanthi leaders must be taken as nothing but legendary wonder stories. Though sacred and valuable the contribution of these sources also to our knowledge of the actual events of Baba Nanak's life is very slight and almost negligible.

There is also a lack of independent and even a near contemporary source. Mention may be made in this connection of a mid-17th century Persian work on comparative religions named 'Dabistan-i-Mazahib' by a Zoroastrian priest, probably the son of Azar Kaiwan, who had come from Persia in the time of Akbar, and settled down and died at Patna. His son, probably Perah Kaiwan or a convoted follower, after wide

travels in Northern India, including the Punjab, composed the 'Dabistan' in the suburbs of Patna, as we learn from the scribblings and marginal notes, here and there, of the owner of the manuscript, also a Persian, Abul Qasim Sasani, which was purchased long ago at my instance for the library of the Bihar Research Society From a verse in the first page of Mohsin Fani, a Kashmiri poet it has been wrongly ascribed to him. For some reasons the Parsi author chose to remain incognite. From the chapter entitled Nanak Panthis we know that he was a contemporary of the 5th, 6th, 7th Gurus and was well acquainted, and in correspondence with, the martial 6th Guru, Hargobind. Though comparatively nearest in time this source also fails us for the Parsi author was as much dependent on the Sikh informants as the Irish civilion and Orientalist, Macauliffe.

One thing is quite clear. By this time the process of transformation had already begun for a state within the state and the tendency of deification of the Guru had made startling progress. Guru worship had commenced and boys of 9, even of 5, could be invested with regal power and could be thought about and accepted as spiritual leader. The account of Baba Nanak given by the anonymous Parsi writer consists of a series of legends accepted as genuine according to Sikh beliefs though there are certain corroborative references also. For example we are told about Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of Lahore (1500 or 1504 to 1524); Before the victory of the late Emperor (Babar) he (Nanak) was a Modi to Daulat Khan Lodi, one of the high officials of Ibrahim Khan, the Emperor of Delhi. Modi is an official incharge of granary. "At the same time he tells us that Nanak was a god, and the world was his creation; that he had been without a real body, but was visible by the power of his "Khudi hai" which means egotism of individuality; that when he died after his second birth in Satyug two roads opened for his soul, one leading to heaven, another to hell, that he chose the latter and bronght out all he found there in ; that he was in his former life Raja Janak, the saint and king in one ; that once children finding him meditating and motionless sewed his eyelids ; that in his power there were several heavens and earths; and being dissatisfied with the Afghans he invited the Mughals. All these were perhaps too much for the Parsi writer for he also writes "some of his distinguished desciples report of him more that can find room here."

About hundred years after we get a somewhat better Muslim account of the gentle, thoughtful benevolent universalist who preached the brotherhood of mankind and tried to bridge the gulf that divided the different warring groups of people. Ibrat Maqals, a Persian chronicle

which has been left unnoticed by others, and was written in 1135 by Qasim Lahori says that in olden times there existed a Darwesh who was possessed of a real insight in matters of divine basis; was endowed with perfections of spiritual significations; had been quite regardless of honour or reputation and was absolutely free from all restraints of external appearances. He regarded infidelity as non-belief and offered salutation to Islam. He contacted men of piety and learning and talked with them on the mystic significances of prayers and fastings and at the same time he sat at the feet of Brahmins and recited the Vedas. Despite his apparent double colours, he was really a man of one colour (sincere and faithful). He rose above all contradictions and questions of war and peace. Sometimes he occupied himself in erecting an enclosure of the house of worship (temple), and at other times he did the work of the Islamic tradition by laying new foundations of a mosque. Sometimes he devoted himself to the performance of the ceremonies prescribed for men of mystic paths and perambulated round the house of God (Kabba) and at other times he set his foot forward for enjoying the sight of Braj and Kashi. He measured some important parts of the earth with his steps of travels but ultimately he kissed the foot of the idols. Wherever he went, there rose loud vociferation of their welcome and in every clime that he visited there was an uproar on hearing his words of verities. He kept company with men who had attained God and he had grace and derived advantages from the assemblies of the men of verification and truth. He had dialogues with Sheikh Farid Shakarganj and benefited from the store of his sugared conversation. For a considerable time he went through severe religious exercises by being in the service of Shah Abdul Rahman Bakhtiar. He was a personage, imposing in appearance and great in spirituality. He had married and become a householder and as a result he had his progeny. But his regards and considerations were bestowed mostly on the group of his disciples of whom one was named Angad, a Khatri. There is much in this which was current in the time of the writer and was believed in by both Sikhs and the Muslims of the Panjab.

References to the kissing of the "ausan" (plural of '*wasan*' i. e. idols) in the above extract may be taken to be improbable in view of Baba Nanak's repeated and clear teaching against idolatary and image worship. He did visit the sacred places of the Hindus which were full of temples and idols requiring the observance of certain age-old ritualistic practices. But Guru Nanak's wanderings are said to have been in quest of truth amidst conflicting creeds and practices, and he may have chosen such places so as to get a large gathering for the preaching of his noble

teachings. On his return from his travels he spoke strongly against idolatry and empty practices including pilgrimages. Then there is the use of the word *ham kalam* which ordinarily means intercourse or dialogue with some body. How could one of the 6th meet the other of the 15th century A. H. ? Did Baba Nanak meet and converse with one who was 10th or 12th in direct descent from Baba Farid, that is Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim (1450-1535). It must be known that *ham* means 'also' in the same manner 'and' *kalam* implies orations, discourse, talks, etc. If taken in this sense there remains no chronological difficulty. Qasim Lahori mentions a new name here. Apparently he had some reliable written or oral evidence about Baba Nanak's undergoing the experiment of some austere practices under a Sufi saint of the time in the Punjab about whom we know nothing from other sources. The Patna historian refers to one Syed Hasan who was a neighbour of the Guru's father, and being a wealthy childless person had conceived a regard for him and perhaps made him familiar with some features of his faith.

Thus all earlier available source-materials are disappointing and the little that we get in Dabistan and Ibrat Maqal is also not very helpful. What appears to be real and factual in them are quite inadebuate. Macleod writes, "The Nanak of faith and legends can be described at great length; but the historical Nanak must remain in large measure hidden. But when shorn of all that is miraculous and marvellous some sort of order can be established. Baba's life is divisible into 3 recognisable periods. The first is that of the Guru's birth and family life. He was born in the house of Kalu, a Bedi Khatri and Patwari of Talwandi, a village of Rai Bhoi, known as Nankana, 40 miles south west of Lahore, on April 15, 1469. In his infancy he received some schoolings, and though a precocious child, all that is said about his baffling his Pandit and Muslim teachers may be taken with a grain of salt. He is said to have been at first engaged in trade as a dealer in grain. But his associations with holy men, Hindus and Muslims, enkindled in him the love of God and service to the poor and the needy and led him to exchange a life of worldly pursuits for the life of meditation and of a mystic devotee (Bhakta) with the insight of a visionary expressing his ideas through a kind of personalist poetry. During this period of family life and growing enlightenment from 1469 to 1496 (27 years) he realised that there was much that was depressing and disgusting. He felt deeply for the suffering humanity. The effect of strong and capable rule of Bahlol and Sikandar had been nullified by the administrative incompetence of Ibrahim Lodi. The Guru is reported to have said "This Kal age is a dragon sword—the kings are butchers; goodness had taken wings

and flown away. There is no one who receiveth or giveth not bribes. The king administers justice only when his palm has been greased." Injustice and oppression of the strong on the weak had become the order of the day.

In the early years of his manhood he was married and had two sons, but his restlessness of mind, due to his resort to Fakirs and Sadhus, made him a devout wanderer. At the end of the first period of approximately three decades he under took a tour of the Punjab. The second period of about 25 years (1496-1521) was spent on his travels. He visited almost all the holy places of Hindus in the east and west of Northern India, taking with him Mardana, a Muslim Dom called Mirasi who played on his rebeck, setting the Guru's hymns and sayings to music. He is also said to have gone beyond India. Ras Gauri 17 of Adi Granth contains one of his sayings. "Tat Tirath Ham Nav Khand Dekhai Hat Patan Bajara" (I have seen places of pilgrimage on river banks, tiraths, the nine regions of the earth, shops, cities and markets). The reference to nine regions of the earth is hyperbolic and does not mean that he travelled over the whole world. The Sikh version about the visits to holy places in India, particularly Puri in 1560 Vikrami between April, 1509 and March 1510 appears, however, to be well-established.

Our late lamented friend Dr. B. B. Majumdar informed Dr. Ganda Singh of an Oriya work, 'Chaitanya Bhagwat' by Ishwar Das, written sometime before the 17th century, and containing the following verses which show that the saint of Punjab and Bengal (Nadia) met and enjoyed the divine music, Kirtan, with their chief companions "Vishambhar (Chaitanya) the resort of the world, takes delight in Kirtan songs with Nanak and Sarang (i. e. Mardana); the two brothers, Rupa and Sanatan, Jagai and Madhai. All of them danced while participating in the Kirtan. At Puri Chaitanya roamed about with Nagara Purushottam Dasa, who was accompanied by Jangali and Nandini on his side. He also took with him Gopal Guru and Math Balarama". The Oriya text has some linguistic importance also for "Rupa and Sanatan "Dui Bhai", "Nanak Sahite Jahani", "Nanak Sarangi dui" give us specimen of Sadhukri Bhasha or Khari Boli. Balaram was Nityanand whose disciple was Purushottam. Jagai and Madhai were the reclaimed ruffians, and Jangali and Nandini were male Vaishnavites who dressed themselves as women representing Krishna's Gopis. As for the Guru's visits to lands, Arabia, Lanka, Tibet, and even Egypt, Africa, Europe and Russia, the less said the better, There is probably little truth in his pregneation on these lands, particularly Arabia, notwithstanding all that has been claimed about the presence of inscriptional stones and mementos.

It was probably at the age of 53 that the Great Guru returned from his travels and there began the third period, that of his retired life. He settled down on the bank of Ravi, established his family at Kartarpur, near Dera Baba Nanak, 5 miles from Kalanaur, where he died at the age of 70 on September 7, 1539. Here he remained engaged in his disciplined devotional activities, singing Kirtan songs, along with his increasing number of followers; imparting to them regular religious instructions; holding debates and disputations, specially with the doubting Nath Jogis; meeting itinerant religious mendicants, Fakirs and Sadhus. It was at Kartarpur that the institution of free kitchen for all irrespective of caste or creed and Sadh Sangat which provided a platform for the assemblage of the devout ones which was later developed into the political institution of Gurmata were established.

So far as the thoughts and religious antecedents of the Great Guru of the Sikhs are concerned we have to take account of the Sant traditions of Northern India and go back to the founder of Hindu Renaissance, Ramanand, who seems to have flourished towards the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century. He could count among his disciples men of various categories, like Pipa, a Rajput soldier, Dhanna, a Jat agriculturist, Sena, a barber, Raidas, a leather worker or cobbler or chamar, Kabir, a Muslim weaver, and also two women, Padmavati and Surasari. Amongst these Kabir and Raidas specially were very saintly personages and notable religious reformers whose hymns and utterances have found a place in the Adi Granth. Inspite of what some of the Janam Sakhis say it is not certain that Kabir and Nanak met at Benares or elsewhere ; but Kabir not only produced great effect on the existing state of popular beliefs, but he also did provide, at least indirectly, much that we find in the thoughts content of the Sikh Guru. The echos of the ideas and teachings of this great and loveable man must have reached the land of the five rivers. With an unprecedented boldness this great and saintly personage had assailed the whole system of existing idol worship, conception of duality, sacred and revealed scriptures, and sacred language, ridiculed the learning and doctrines of Pandits and the Mullahs, and all that was merely external and conventional, empty ceremonials and rituals, and directed his message of love and devotion, unity of God, voice of the "Sat Guru" or True Guru or God within the human soul and stressed the importance of word (Sabd) and Nam (Name). Much of these descended to Guru Nanak, and that there is a good deal of such things in the respective patterns of their beliefs and Sadhana can searcely be denied. In the words of Wilson, Guru Nanak, the only Hindu reformer who can justly be credited with the foundation

of a national religion was chiefly indebted to Kabir. The votaries of the Sikh Guru may not wholly agree with the view that the religion of their spiritual ancestor was a natural consequence of all that had gone before; but for an independent student of history it is difficult to deny the debt that he owed to them.

On the socio-religious and also political side there was much to remove and reform. Like Kabir and other saint reformer Baba Nanak attacked all that was counterfeit and merely conventional. But did all such things disappear after the mission and peaceful preachings of Baba Nanak? This does not mean a denial of the noble work done by him. For example he thought that God could be known and attained through righteousness and not through events, or revealed scriptures in sacred books and he did not consider any place to be a particular abode of God or house of worship for, there is no place where God does not exist. But everybody can realise what tremendous influence has been exercised on the national character of the Sikh, by the collections of hymns and songs embodied in the Guru's Granth Saheb and by sacred shrines established much later by others and constantly visited despite Baba Nanak's views about pilgrimage. He realised the prejudicial effects of the caste system which may have been a useful institution in the days of Manu, but which, after a lapse of several centuries, had torn the social fabric into shreds and was responsible for moral and social degradation. Guru Nanak sang, "Sazat sat pat Hai, Jehe Karam Kamaie" (Caste and station are determined by the work one does and not by accidents of birth) and again "castes are folly, names are folly; all creatures have one shelter, that of God," and yet again "there are lowest men among low castes; Nanak I am with them; what have I got to do with the great —God's mercy fall on those who take care of the lowly." According to him God fearing and truthful chandals and sweepers living upon honest labour were many times better than a high born Brahman addicted to evils. The four members of the out-caste groups, Dome, Kasai, Chuhra, and Chandal have been separately mentioned. "Your evil mind is a Domini; your cruelty is a Kasaini, youı malicious tongue is a Chuhra; your anger is a Chandalini; and all have led you astray. Why mark off a cooking square when these four keep your company. Let truth be your (of drawing the cooking) square and righteous deeds your lines. Let repeating the name be your ritual ablution, Nanaka; hereafter he who does not teach sinful ways will be exalted." It was not his fault if his followers have not kept themselves to his ideals.

Baba Nanak is credited with having raised the status of women

by feeling for their sufferings and upholding their cause while referring to the wrongs done to them by the soldiery of Babur. "It is by women that we are conceived, and from her that we are born; it is with her that we are betrothed and married. It is woman we befriend; it is she who keeps the race going. Thy call her evil from whom are born kings and great men." Amir Khusrau also writes in the same strain in his Masnavis, but it was beyond Guru Nanak. Excepting sati there is very little in the Sayings and utterances of Baba Nanak about such evil practices as 'Jauhar', female infanticide, polygamy, child marriage and seclusion. He did despise Sati, and females may have been allowed free access to his religious assemblies and congregation; but what was done and said to give them a status of equality or even of superiority as is sometimes claimed? He has mentioned sati in the following words- "A sati is not she who burneth herself on the pyre of her espouse, Nanak, sati is she who dies with shocks of her separation." This does not necessarily mean that he advocated its abolition. Why did Guru Amar Das later see the necessity of persuading his followers to give up this practice ? As regards polygamy, Macauliffe tells us that the 7th Guru, Har Rai, even when a boy was "wedded collectively" to all the daughters of one, Daya Ram. At times when Baba Nanak expressed his anguish of his soul through his metrical compositions set to melody at his instrument by Mardana, something emerges of religio-sociological import out of these songs and sayings.

As an example we may cite the following from Rag Asa about women captives of the Mughal Army. "When these whom whose heads were shorn were married, fair indeed seemed their bridegrooms beside them. They were brought home in palanquins, carved within ivory. Pitchers of waters were waved over their heads in ceremonial welcome. Ornate fans flittered waiting above them. At the first entry into their new homes each bride was offered a gift of a lakh of rupees ; another lakh when each stood up to take the post in her new homes; coconut shredding and raisins were among the delicious fruits-served to them at their table. These beautise lent charms to the coaches they reclined on; now they are dragged away, with ropes round their necks. Their neckalaces are snapped and their pearls scattered. Ah Nanak, how completely helpless men are—it is God's will that is done, for ever and ever.

Similarly in his Sidh Goshti he has used the beautiful imageries of Lotus and Swan to emphasise the Sufi doctrine of being in the world and also out of it. He also refers to all the paraphernalia of a Yogi and

Sadhu, matted hair, tall cap, pair of ear-rings, patched cloak, loin-cloths, begging bowls, slit-ears, smeared bodieset.

A much more significant and interesting observation indicating some of the prevailing perversities has been quoted from Guru Nanak's verses by some scholars. "Those who shave their heads and drink the washings, and beg for the leavings of food to eat; they rake up the filth, raise bad odours, and dread (clear) water; how unwise in fact they are ? Like sheep their heads are plucked and their hands are soiled with ashes; they give up the ways of their forefathers and their kindred wail". Aghoris who were worse still existed even in the 9th century, and despite the strong denunciation and condemnation of their practices and attempts to get them abandon their evil modes and practices by the celebrated Shankracharya, the founder of modern philosophic Hinduism, their centuries old later descendants continue to stick to them like beeches.

Mecnicol writes, "In Nanak's own teaching we find much the same ideas as Kabir had taught, but carried further and organised more fully into a system. It is true that neither Kabir nor Nanak is a systematic thinker. Neither troubles much with metaphysical bases of his doctrine. An element of weakness in both is the absence of a fully considered theology. They are eclectic teachers, governed rather by impulse and by intuition than by reflection.

Kabir was a mystic and not a philosopher but his pity sayings and striking aphorisms went home to the people and brought him great popularity. He was an unlettered man and much that he said came out from the innermost corner of his heart having a depth of meaning as well as some obscurity for much that he said he had himself experienced. Baba Nanak was a man of respectable attainments having had some sort of schooling at an early age offered a more coherent and integrated pattern of beliefs which, with some additions, and change, is followed even to this day by his followers. Nanak's expounding of his views is expressed in terms which have greater clarity and are more easily under-standable than Kabir. He appears to have had a working knowledge not only of Hindi, Punjabi but also some smattering of Persian, while Kabir's medium of communication was confined to what may be called a sort of Awadhi and Sadhukari Bhasha. In the "Bijak" he is represented as declaring "I never touched ink and paper; nor did I take a pen into my hand; to the sages of all four ages Kabir declared his words by mouth." The language used by Baba Nanak and his verses of mystical and moral import set to music were well

suited for and met the requirements of his people, but he is perhaps wrongly credited with having invented the Gurmukhi script to serve as a common scriptural medium. Perhaps one of his successors did it for we don't find any difinite indication of it in his own writings of perhaps in the Adi Granth. The appointment of a successor to continue his spiritual work was a distinct improvement on the teachings and works of his predecessors for it led to the perpetuation of his teachings, and it provided an organisation to the community. Such a step of far reaching importance had not been taken by any of the saints and the Bhaktas, though some such practices of nominated spiritual deciples existed among thc sufis.

A question arises as to why a more important personality like Baba Nanak, a man of noble disposition gentle and of forgiving temperament, with his simple and pure tenets of peace and mission of reconciliation escaped the notice of the Muslims of his own time and of immediate future. Was it because he was taken to be more Hindu than a Muslim in their views, or was it beeause, despite his denunciation and mild ironical remarks about some of their practices he did not provide such occasions for dissatisfaction as was done by Kabir by his brutally frank, out-spoken and pungent remarks and his searching criticisms.

Divergent views have been held about the elements of Hinduism and Islam in both Kabir and Nanak. Barth says, "we cannot doubt that the spectacle of Islam, its triumphant monotheism, its severely spiritualistic worship, its large fraternity, its morality, practicability, so incontestably superior to Hinduism, left deep impression upon his (Kabir) mind". Malcolm also describes Kabir as a Muslim. Westcoat says that Kabir was certainly a Muslim, and had some knowledge of Sufi teachings. Kabir's words "God whom you seek is near you; He is always near to His devotees and far from these who don't worship Him", Sounds as if he knew the Quranic verse—"I am nearer to you than your jugular veins". Manicol writes, "Kabir was a Monthe-ist. The Ram and Hari whom he worshipped is not a god of mythological story. These gods are dead, he says. God is greater than these inventions of men, greater than the thoughts of Hindus and Muslims. Menicol is, howcver, of opinion that the teaching of Kabir, as time went on, was made to assume a form more and more fully Hindu. Macleod opines that "the basis of Kabir's views was not, as has been commonly supposed, Vaishnava Bhakti or sufism, but Tantric Yoga. He belonged to the family of non-celibate Yogis recently converted from Tantric Yoga to Islam. It is difficult to accept this view on the basis of the use of what is ealled the wealth of Nath Yoga terminology

by him. Have not the Muslim poets of Hindi, authors of Prem Kathas, like Qutban, Manjhan and others also used the terminology of the Natha cult which was very strong in that age.

As for Baba Nanak and his Sikhism also divergent views have been put forward by different scholars. The Sikhs themselves would have us believe that his was an absolutely new and independent religion quite distinct from Hinduism; but we may leave them aside for they are apt like votaries of Islam and Christianity to see things from coloured glasses and to claim such things. Let us see what European Orientalists say on the subject. Dr. Trumpp held that Baba Nanak was essentially a Hindu despite his mild criticisms of the Brahmans and their scriptures, Vedas and the Puranas. According to this German missionary, the first European translator of Adi Granth, it would not be correct to assume that he forbade the worships of other gods for he took over the old Hindu mythological background, subordinating the whole to the supreme Brahma. Barth, the French scholar, was also of the view that Guru Nanak was at bottom a Hindu though he rejected the Shastras and the Puranas as well as the Quran. Macleod refers to the wealth of Sant terminology and imageries derived from Hindu sources and says that almost all of his basic terminology is of native Indian derivation. In choosing the names of God his preference is strongly for Hindu names, and when dealing with a concept which has obvious affinities with Sufi beliefs he will almost always use non-Sufi term. Monicol finds the evidence of the influence of Hindu teaching much greater in Nanak than in Kabir. In the "Japji" which gives an apitome of the doctrines of his sect, and which every Sikh is expected to know by heart, we have less criticism of Hiduism than we find in Kabir. The influence of the Upanishads is unmistakable in such a line as this—"By one word thou didst effect the cxpansion of the world." The Upanishadee line reminds us of the Quranic verse "Kun Fa-Yakun" (Be and the universe same into being." There is also the tradition "Kunto Kanzan Makhfia" (I was a hidden treasure I wanted to be known and I created the world).

Baba Nanak expresses his belief in one Supreme Being, God of all mankind, endowed with loveable attributes of omnipotence, Omnipresence through space and time, the only immortal, transcendental as well as immanant. He tells us of revelation in Creation, regulation of everything by God's Grace, sufferings involved in separation from the Sajan (Beloved), fervent passion for ascent to union through a number of stages or Kahnds in mystic journey which the Sufi call

Awalim or *Maqamat*, purging of self life *Fana* or self annihilation, everlasting union with God like *Baqa*. Baba Nanak's concept of Nam Simaran may be taken as analogous to Sufi *Zikr* and *Muraqiba*. The Sikh Guru and the Sufi forbid celibacy, renunciation, asceticism and self mortification, and both deliver the warning against the anare of wordly wealth. While inculcating faith in one Supreme he does not forget good services to all mankind, God's works and right living. The Khanqahs of the Sufi orders with public kitchen, the Sufi concept of the Saikhs or Pir Murshid can not be ignored while seeking parallels and evidence of assimilation by one people of the ways and institutions of another.

Macleod, while admitting certain strong resemblances to Sufi thought says that many elements in the thoughts of Guru Nanak Suggest affinities with Sufi concepts; but they say not be a result of Sufi influence. The word Hukum (Divine ordinances), Mehr (Grace) which possess particular significance in the thought of Guru Nanak are certainly Arabic words, but the concepts which they expresses is not a borrowing from Islam. His doctrine of name Simaran does not correspond, according to him, to the Sufi technique of Zikr, and the five Kahnds or realm of Japji, of religion. knowledge, efforts, Grace, and truth, do not correspond to the Mawamat. He concludes "the Islamic influence upon the thought of Guru Nanak was relatively slight and not of any fundamental significance. There is no clear indication in his sayings and says that like Islam he ran down the Hindu mode of worship, its multitudinous and multi limbed gods and goddess, its lingam, its mythology concept of incarnation and above all Transing about Nanak's thought is in direct conflict with Islam and Sufism on such basic question, as Karma and transmigration. Guru Nanak believed in metem psychosis and ever recurring cycles of births and deaths, that is all really good men would enjoy the beatitude while those who had no such claim but were not yet very bad, would enjoy another probation by revisiting the world in human from, the bad ones would assume the from of animals and insects.

There is one more question, that is the claim about Baba Nanak's education and his knowledge of Persian, which is well-worth consideration. The Sikh account would represent him as a self-taught personage, having had little or no formal training or instructions at a school. He is said to have been placed under the charge of a Pandit who was baffled by the searching and perplexing questions of the boy at the very initial stage. Cunningham refers to "a manuscript compilation in Persian

which mentions that Nanak's first teacher was a Muhammadan." I have made an earnest search, but in vain, for this unnamed manuscript, and I do not know on what basis the European historian of the Sikhs says that "Muhammadan accounts represent Nanak, when a child, to have astonished his teacher by asking him the hidden import of the first letter of the alphabet" Alif (الف) which may denote the unity of God. For a member of a family of grocers it was not necessary to have a schooling in Persian, even when he was meant to be incharge of a State granary, for the registers and account books had to be kept in Hindi or Punjabi. It is difficult to take seriously the verses ascribed to Baba Nanak and quoted by Cunningham to the effect" several scriptures sources and books had he read—but one God, he had not found; several Qurans and Purans had he read—but faith he could not put in any". The presence of the element of Persian, vocables phrases and some sorts of verses does not mean much, I think the question of linguistic features of Baba Nanak's Banis has yet to be tackled in details by those who are competent for the purpose.

Baba Nanak has brought in several Persian and Arabic words in the different 'Pauris' or stanzas of a liturgical composition which forms the quinitessence of his teachings: for example in the small Var Majha on page 47 of Sri Guru Nanak Shiksha part I published by Parbandhak Committee, Takht—Har Mandir, we get as many as 12 such words Rah, Du, ai Ek Jane Soyi Sijhs—Kufr Goye Kufrane, Rayya Dajsi-Sab Dunya, Subhan Sach Sa Samajiai—Sijari Dar Diwani Ap Gawayye-Je Rat Lage Karai Jame Hoyi Pleet (paleed)-Jo Rat Piwahi Mausa Tin Kiv Nirmal Chit-Nanak Nau Khudayi Ke Dil Hachchai Mukh tehu-Awar Diwaji (riwaji) Duni Ke Jhutai Amal Karae. There are many such minglings E. L. Gauri Mahila I, p.v/4/- Sultan Khan Badsah Nahin Rahna Chaudhari Raje Nahin Kisai Mukam Rayat (Rayyat) Mehr, Mukaddam, Sikdare (Shiqdar)... Kaji (Qazi) Saikh (Shaikh) Baikh Phakira-Bade Kahewahi, Hau main Tan Pira-Hukme-Jaiy-Hukme Jehy y-Age Pachai Hukm Sama,yi. حکم رجائی چلنا نانک لکھیا نال i. e. by waling O Nanak, according to the will of the Commander, as written in destiny, or preordained. Here are two words-'hukam' or order and 'rajai' or 'razai', the Arabic 'reza' or Divine acquiescence,

ایکنا حکمی بخشش اک حکمی سدا بھو رسہ

Ikna hukmi bakhsis iki hukmi sada, bhawawaiahi which means by His order some obtain reward while some are by His orders made to wander about (in transmigration).. Here we get two words 'hukum (order), and a bakhsis (gifts, rewards or giveness). '*Gawai ko Vekhai hadra hadu'r*

Here are two words 'hadra' (hazir) and '*hadur*' (hazur) i. e. 'presents' and 'presence'. This reminds us of the oft-quoted Urdu line جدھر دیکھتا ہوں ادھر تو ہی تو ہے The great Guru also says '*Sarab Jot* (i) *tari pasar* (i) *Jah jah dekha tah nar hari. Suniai Sekh pir Pat* (i) sah 'Sheikh' means a venerable old man or a doctor learned in religion or letters, also a Sufi monk. 'Pir' means a spiritual guide, while 'patisah (padsah) is king. The other words found in 'Pauris' 12, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 are *Kalam* in really (Qalam) or pen; 'dargah' (threshold of God), Kalam (discourse (Qoot) an Arabic word meaning food or sustenance), '*Qudrat*' in Arabic means power, Salamat or safety, Hermakhir (literally eaters of forbidden food, also one who lives on the wages of iniquity) Jor, really 'zor' or force or strength, Phurmaye-reallyyi 'Farmaye' (commanded), 'Sabun or soap. 'Rang' or colour.

The booklet entitled 'Sir Guru Nanak Siksha', compiled by Gurbux Singh of New Delhi, contains many other verses, ascribed to Baba Nanak which have many Arabic and Persian words. The occurrence of Arabic and Persian words in the Hindi-Punjabi verses of Baba Nanak does not necessarily mean his famliarity with the Persian language or can throw any light on his knowledge of Persian, for much earlier Bardic literature presents several specimens of such incorporations. There also we get the veriation, distortion of original words as we find as Guru's verse, '*Gaibana, najr, jat, muskat* (musaqqat), *tursi, roja, niwaj, tosa,* (for tosha), *maksud* (u) (for maqsud), *makam. jan* (zan), *Siphat, Khajjal* (khajil). Kudrali, Sahiba, Rukh, Sarma, Garibi, Khasm, Takya, etc.

The apt accumulation of words so as to form some versified pieces VERSES SUCH AS WE FIND IN Rag Gauri Mahalla this also does not mean much. Such lines are,

1. 'Sultan Khan Badisah nahi rehna'
2. 'Caudhari raje nahi kisi muqam (u)'
3. Rayat (i) mahar muqadam siqdarai,'

More important are the following lines in 'Rag Tilang'.

'Yak arj (arz) guftam pas (i) (pesh) to-dar gos (gosh) kun kartar-
Hak (Haq) Kabir Karim tu be aib parwadgar
Duniya mukam (Muqam), fani tahqiq Dildani
Mamsar (hamsar) muyi (muwe)
Ajrail (Azrial) biraftah dil hec (haich) na dani
Jan (zan) pesar pedar (pidr) biradran kas nes (neest) dastangir (dastgir)

Akhir be uftam kas na darad cun (chun) savad (shawad) Takbir (tadbir)
Sab (zab) rog (roz) gashtam dar hawa kardam badi khiyal
Gahe na neki kar kardam man (ham) in Cini (Chunin) ahwal
Bad bakht ham (chun) cu bakhil ghafil be najar bebak
Nanak bygoyd jan (u) tura tere cakran (Chakran) pa khak pakhak"

None of these, excepting perhaps the first line; and that too hardly fulfils the poetic requirements according to the Persian prosody. Even if these lines are taken to be genuine, they can not be qyoted as a positive proof of the 'Guru's knowledge of Persian. It is admitted on all hands that Baba Nanak was a born genius and a very talented man. He came frequently in contact with mystic poets and imbibed much from them. He was himself a gifted poet and could manipulate words so as to form verses, complete or incomplete, correct or incorrect grammatically. Every word that fell from his lips may be sacred to us, but we should not make. Too much at that.



The Mahabharata and Indian Archaeology

DR. B. P. SINHA
University Professor of Ancient Indian
History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna

The Mahabharata, the Great Epic is a store-house of Indian historical and cultural traditions. It is claimed that it is encyclopædic and what is not contained in it is not worth knowing or remembering. The nature of the work as it has finally come down to us is that of a moral and religious overtones, a diadetic teaching the ultimate success of right over wrong, justice over injustice, of good or evil. It is thus a work of permanent significance with lessons for the present and future. It is because of this fundamental obsession that round some possibly historical narratives myths, exaggerations and even palpably chronological absurdities have been woven round in a manner that a few strands of truth have been enveloped by deep layers of mist. Then the work has definitely passed through at least three recognised stages—from an epic of 8000 verses to 24000 and finally to 100000 verses. The style of the composition and the cleverness of the later composers and editors is such that it is well-nigh impossible to distinguish the three stages of the growth of the Epic, and naturally a critical student finds himself completely at bay in isolating kernels of historical narratives in any reasonable chronological sequence. While there is no doubt that the present Mahabharata does contain allusions to events and cultural traits of periods anterior to the event of the alleged Great War itself, it also abounds in references to long after times—the references to the Yavanas, the Hunas, are just stray examples. It is thus obvious that additions to the work went on atleast down to the 4th century A. D. before which the Hunas could not have been referred to. This is the main difficulty in trying to read political history from the Mahabharata.

It has to be conceded that our knowledge of other ancient histories and civilisations even of the Middle Ages in Europe is even to-day derived quite extensively from traditional literature. But the difference is that while in such literalry traditions—a compound of myths, exaggarations and reality—bare historical truths could be separated from fiction, in the Mahabharata is a complete mixture of facts and fiction, hotch-potch of chronologies and sequences that it is a herculean task

to extract the nector of truth from the solution. This has made many historians throw up their hands in despair. The same problem was faced with regard to the Puranas, many scholars including D. C. Sircar have little faith in the Puranas as a source of history. The problem becomes further complicated and the issue hotly drawn when many indologists strongly vouschafe for the historical varaeity of every word or event in the Mahabharata or the Puranas. While there is no scope at all to take every word or incident described in the Mahabharata as historical sacroscent—this is obvious from the nature and purpose of the work itself—there is hardly a valid reason to relegate the entire traditional lore into limbo of fiction or unvalidity. This is only to evade the challange, a counsel of despair, Pargiter heroically in those days of distrust of the Puranic lores and of complete faith in the Vedic literature attempted a reasonable reconstruction of dynastic history down to the socalled historical period, and it is to be remembered that inspite of all known deficiencies the Puranic literature, even to-day with all advance in fields of epigraphy, numismatics and field archæology, for the history of the period from 600 to 320 A. D., the Puranas do supply a workable base, and therefore it is reasonable to assure that for the period prior to that also and they must contain some truths, it is true that with distance in time and subsequent additions, interpolation and even ommissions, the base that they provide for Pre-Bimbisarian period is more shaky, but that the entire account is to be brusquently left out of consideration is like throwing the baby with the waster (the tube).

This is not the place to argue about the value of traditions as a source of history. One does not know where our understanding of the classical Greoce, Rome, Middle Ages and even of Medieval Britain, of the Vikings would have been without the traditions. The anthropologists know the value of folk lore and traditions in reconstructing social and cultural models of the past. I may seek indulgence for the following long quotation "It is true that the farther the past the more liklihood of error and falsification in tradition; but it might be suggested that not a little of its falsehood is collected before it becomes tradition, and the idea that contemporaneity proves truth is hardly born out by the printed propaganda of our own day. But no modern historical research has often shown a sound basis for tradition in the early classical world, or Dark Age Britain, so Indian tradition deserves at least to be allowed to present its primafacie case for consideration try ordinary probabilities of human nature the statements are quite possible, they are consistent with one another and what external evidence there is therefore there is reason, even if week, for believing

the tradition, and considering its implications. Weak reason is no reason, and a conglemoration of weak reasons may add up to a probability just as a sum of fractions may make unity".[1]

Here we are discussing the historicity of the Mahabharata War. Do we find any corroboration of the event or the personalities connected with it in other literature. Seriously speaking it can be no body's case that every event alleged to have happened during the Great War as related in the Epic is gospel truth—the nature of the Mahabharata epic and of the Puranas is unlike the vedic literature which remained unsullied throughout. It is also to be clearly remembered that the original Mahabharata or Jaya Karya was compiled not long after the event but after the compilation of the Vedas. Therefore, there is no wonder that the war and its participating heroes are not mentioned in it. But it is significant to not that the War could not have happened long after the compilation of the Vedic literature, as Devapi and Santanu,[2] Vicitravirya[3] and Dhritarashtra, and Krishna[4] are mentioned in it. As the Vedic literature is by no one taken to be fictitious, these personages were historical and when they are found closely related to the heroes in the Mahabharata war, they or their close associates do not at once become fictitious personages. The Asvalayana Grihyasutra refers to the Bharata and the Mahabharata as the Epic and Panini also knows of the Bharata and Mahabharata and names Vasudeva Arjuna and Yudhisthira. Thus it can be asserted that the Mahabharata and its main heroes were well known to the Vedic and Brahmanic literature and to Panini. Because of the nature of their works no events of the Great War are mentioned which do not prove them to be non-event. The tradition was well known by as early as 5th century B. C., or even earlier as the Asvalayana Grihyasutra may be placed in the 6th century B. C. The events of the Great War can be well expected to be referred to in the historical narrative like the Puranic literature, and we find the corroboration of the kernel of the story of the Mahabhrrata in the Puranas. The the earliest of the Puranas refer to the Mahabharata war and some of its heroes and events. Abhimanyu son of Arjuna slew Brhadbala in the Bharata war.[5] Arjuna the third Pandeva as playmate of Krshna burner of the Khandava forest, killer of Jayadratha in the Bharata war is referred te in

1. R. Morton Smith–Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India—p. 1–2
2. V. S. Agarwal—India as Known to Panini—p. 340.
3. Kathaka Samhita X. 6.
4. Chandogya Upanishad—III 17. 6.
5. Vishnu P. IV 4. 112,

the Bhagavata Purana. Yudhishthira is referred to in the Bhagavata, Matsya, Vayu and Vishnu. Karna as evil advisor of Duryodhana is referred to in the Vishnu Purana[6]. The Bhagavata, Matsya, Vayu and Vishnu refer to Duryodhana and events of his life. The story of Jarasandha is also well known to the Puranas. Bharata as an akhyana by Vyasa is referred to in the Bhagavata Purana[7], and the Bharata Yuddha (Mahabharata War) is itself mentioned in the Puranas[8]. The Great epic as the Mahabharata itself is mentioned as such in the Vishnu and the Vayu Puranas[9]. Thus there is no doubt that the Puranas in the main corroborate the events of the Great War and also the prior existence of the Great Epic. If the Puranas can be seriously studied for the reconstruction of the Post-Great War genealogy, there is no reason to reject its references to the Great War and its heroes outright unless proved to be impossible events. The burden of proof lies on "Doubting Thomasis".

There is great controversy over the date of the Mahabharata war--while one cannot be as definitive as B. B. Lal that the war took place in 836 B. C., or as Smith that it is to be dated in 975 B. C. I have no doubt that, taking everything together, the war must be placed between 1200 and 1000 B. C.; the average of regnal periods cannot be too exact. It appears that on the basis of literary evidence the main story of the Mahabharata war can be regarded as a very probable event. Even to-day we have to base much of our historical knowledge of period from Buddha onwards to literary accounts without which our story or rather history would be very bold or incomplete.

Some have raised the objection that the Mahabharata as described could not have happened. One cannot take too seriously the objection of Dr. Sircar that 18 akshaunis could not have been collected in the Kurukshetra. There is no unanimity about the strength of an akshauni, and then there can be no sacroscence about this figure—element of gross exaggeration in any epic is quite normal. The other objection is that in the Mahabharata war kings of far south and east appear to have joined one side or the other but even in the 6th century B. C., the Buddhist Jain sources do not mention of any kingdom of the South except Asmaka (in Madhyapradesh), and no kingdom east of Anga is referred to. It is further argued that while we have small kingdoms (Mahajanapadas) in the time of Buddha, great kings of large kingdoms as envisaged in the

6 Vishnu P. IV 14. 36
7 Bhag. P. 1.4.35, 29; 5. 3
8 Br. P. III, 74. 109; Matsya P.12.55; 103.2; 271. 19; Va. P.99. 236; Vishnu P. IV. 4. 112
9 Vishnu P. III, 4. 5; Va. I. 18, 45

Mahabharata war could hardly exist. As against this objection, it may be pointed out that in the Vedic literature itself the reference has been made to great kings—Cakravartis who performed Asvamedha and Vajapeya sacrifices after carrying their victorious arms into the territories of others. Vedic literature refers to some sort of imperial domains, imperial suzerains lording over smaller fudatories. The word 'Adhiraja' occurs fairly often throughout the early literature, denoting overlord among kings or princes[10]. Samrat in the Ṛgveda and later literature means superior ruler, as expressing greater degree of power than 'king' (rajan[11]). In the Satapatha Brahmana the Samrat is asserted to be a higher authority than a king because of the performance of Vajapeya as against Rājasuya[12]. Janaka is a Samrat[13]. We know of amalgamation of more than one tribes into one—such as of Kuru and Pancalas. Thus in the time of the Great War there could have been great kings like Jarasandha who lorded over other kings—of course some element of exaggeration in the description of the number of subjugated kings or the pomp and splendour of the overlord has to be conceded. There is no reason to doubt that kings of different kingdoms sided with one or the other side in this fratricidal war. There could have been near or distant blood relations or deplomatic relations. If Bimbisara could have diplomatic relations with the king of Gandhara, the kings of north, west and east could join the war, as there is no reason to doubt that road transport was available as in the 6th century B. C. Our knowledge of the history of South India is very incomplete. The Buddhist, the Jain and even Brahmanic literature are north-centred, and non-mention of South Indian kingdoms does not mean certainly non-existence. In view of finding of iron quite early as far south as Mysore does suggest corresponding political development as well. And there was not much revolutionary development in technology since 1000 B. C. down to the time of Samudra Gupta when with his chariots, cavalary and foot-soldiers he penetrated into south as far as Kanchi. It is not impossible that Pandava heroes in their digvijaya penetrated into forested tracts of ASSAM and the south. It is to be noted that there is no corroboration of the epigraphic evidence of Samudra Gupta's campaign in the south, but it is not doubted by most of the scholars. Suramasa (Surma valley in Assam) is referred to by Panini[14]. It is not mentioned as a Maha Janapada in the Buddhist and Jaina literature, but its

10 Vedic Index I, p. 19; RV. X. 128. 9; Av. VI. 98, 1. SB. V. 4. 3. 2; Kathaka Samhita IV. 12. 3

11 RV. III. 55. 7: 56, 5; IV. 21. 1; VI. 27, 8; VIII 19, 32; Vajasneyi Samhita V. 32; XIII. 35

12 SB. V, 1.1.13; XII 8.3.1

13 Ibid. XI. 3.2.16

14 Agarwal op. cit, p. 34, 37, 60

existence as a Janapada was known to Panini. Where is the impossibility of Arjuna going there ? Some have observed that the weapons mentioned in the Mahabharata War could hardly be used in those early days. It is to be observed in this connection that many supernatural weapons are mentioned, and no historical proof or credibility can be given to these, and they are certainly sheer exaggerations and figments of imaginations unless we think with some astral scientists to-day that there could be trans-terrestrial messages from far off planets in space to earth, which are still being received but cannot be decided. It is to be noted by the way that only specially trained persons after going through lots of austerities and meditation with devotion could establish contact with the sentient beings and receive weapons as boons. But we cannot at present discuss their veracity. But it is to be noted that the main weapons of war were bows and arrows and use of chariots. Most of the Epic heroes ride in chariots in the battle field, and are wielders of bows and arrows. Chariots are known to the earliest stem of the Vedic literature. It is significant that though cavalary is just mentioned casually, no important hero of the war is seen on horseback, and there is no doubt that the war took place at a time when cavalary was not much in use and royalty did not use it as a mount. We find the Buddha riding a horse and cavalary is a very important wing of the Mauryan army. On this basis alone the Mahabharata war must be placed long before the Buddha. It is true that stone-balls, and other stone weapons -maces—are used. But this would not place the Mahabharata war in the stone ages. Archaeologists are aware that stone arrow-heads, stone-balls, mace-heads are found in abundance with even bone-arrow-heads in historical archaeological sites. There is no need to mention any one site. I have personal knowledge of such finds at Campa belonging to 2nd century B. C. strata. It is also to be noted that Kautilya refers to many stone weapons also. The Magadhan army used Mahasilakantaja and Rathamusala in war against Vaisali. It is true that we have references to a cannibalism, drinking of blood, use of trees as weapons by Ghatotkacha, and Hidimba Rakshasi and so on. But this would not disturb the main story. The Mahabharata being encyclopaedic in nature does refer to primitive societies and their culture together with developed cultures of the age of the Mahabharata war, and even interpolates at places matters of later times when the Epic was still in the process of growth. The culture represented in the epic does not necessarily represent the culture of the time of the Great war alone. It is also to be noted that even in much later times together with developed cultural societies we have primitive societies existing side by side, in India and Australia and New Zealand. This does not antedate the developed societies.

In my opinion the early PGW strata should not be far from the Mahabharata times, that is, the war took place when iron was in use. There is a lot of controversy as to when iron was in use. The Vedic literature refers to 'ayas' [15], and to many it is 'iron', but more probably 'ayas' is bronze which was the main metal in use in the Harappan culture. But together with 'ayas' another metal 'Syama' is mentioned, with loha[16] and syama is most probably iron. So in the later Vedic period iron was known. Iron is found in Hallur in 1100 B. C. in Noh earlier than 1000 B. C.—i. e. about the time when the Mahabharata war is supposed to have taken place. Sophisticated weapons and war chariots, though not found in the Harappan sites, are nevertheless mentioned in the Vedic literature—such as *ayasipura* and pura-charishṇu--fortified castles and breaker of forts. These must have been associated with metal—copper or bronze, if not iron. Authors of Vedic Index conjecture that Rigvedic arrow with ayas arrow-heads (ayomukham) could be iron tipped arrows. Copper however is conceivable and bronze quite likely.[17]

The culture represented in the Epic does not necessarily represent the culture of the time of the Great War alone. It is also to be noted that cultures of earlier times continue in some way.

We have not yet identified the Vedic strata in Indian excavated sites. But the Vedic period is not taken to be non-existent, but whatever archaeologically known cultures Ochre-Ware or Black-and-Red ware be considered to represent the Vedic period, we have not found any evidence which could represent the Vedic material culture or its weaponry and transport. No chariots or wheels even have been picked up. Hence the limitation of Indian archaeology is quite obvious. One may doubt the Puranas, the Epics and rest of the traditional literature, but no one has seriously doubted the veracity of the Vedic literature in general. The Asvamedha and Vajapeya performer kings—the Sabha and Samiti, the Ratnins -the Rishis must have existed though their chronological sequence may not be clear or accurate as the Vedic priests were not historians or chronoclers even. But archaeology has not as yet found anything to corroborate these things. Would we be justified in therefore rejecting completely the Vedic literature—its religion, social and material life, its sacrifices and priests and kings ?

The Mahabharata heroes must have used iron weapons together with bows and arrows, stone-balls, etc. In their arrow and in their

15 Rv. I. 57 3 ; Vedic Index I, p.31

16 Vaj. Sam. XVIII 13

17 Vedic Index I p. 32. Monier Williams translated 'Ayas' as iron

chariots and horses accourtment iron must have been used. It has been suggested that in all Epic sites so far excavated in the Early P. G. W. strata iron is very meagre. This is true but no one should keep in mind the fact that at historical sites as well when iron was certainly abundantly used as weapons or equipments—in the proved iron-age cultural stratas—iron objects are very few. From Sisupalgarh no iron object was obtained from the levels belonging to period-I (c. 300-200 B. C.). From Navda Toli Period-IV (Early historic period) only a few iron tanged or socketed arrow-heads were found. From Kausambi Period-III (605-45 B. C.) a number of arrowheads—tanged or socketed or barbed—were found. Some spears or javelins were also found. Nails and adzes are also to be noted. From Vaisali period-I a & b (500-300 B. C.) iron knife and lance head and blades were recovered. From Hastinapur period-III (600-300 B. C.) only arrow-heads and nails were found. This only shows that iron objects are rarely found in the excavated trenches. Reason mostly is that iron is easily corroded underneath the ground. It is quite obvious that the rarity of iron objects, particularly of weapons would not prove the barrenness of iron-armoury in the Nanda and Maurya armoury. Literary evidence is profuse about the rich Mauryan armoury at least.

Thus it is clear that archaeology has not disproved the story of the Mahabharata and the culture of the time. Vertical excavations have given us a mere cultural sequence and the Atranjikhera and Hastinapur limited excavations actually tend to corroborate the culture of the time contemporary with the Mahabharata. Much of the grandeour of the palaces of the Pandavas and the Kauravas at Indraprastha and Hastinapur, with exaggerations and embellishments, certainly were probably of wooden-frame work. Candragupta's imperial palace was largely of wood but was so well done and embellished with paintings, carvings and gold and silver embroidery that it could be compared favourably in grandeur with Ecbatana and Persepolis. Yudhishthira's palace could have been also such but has perished. It is also to be remembered that it is only since the eve of independence that scholars have turned their attention to Epic sites. Vertical excavations of very limited area might have made them to miss some of the more habitated and richer areas of the settlement. If Marshall had stopped with vertical diggings at Mohenjodaro with the labourer's quarters being touched by his spade, and he had stopped, what a miserable idea of the Indus Valley civilization we would have had. What is needed is extensive horizontal excavations at the potential Epic sites at the PGW and lower stratas in the Gangetic Valley. So far our archaeologists have done fine, but it is rather disquieting that so soon they appear to be losing hope and

hurrying with negative conclusions rejecting outright hoary traditional heritage which have sustained the people for many many hundreds of years. More and more digging with faith and devotion is the cry of the hour. Then we must know what we expect to find in excavations of the Epic cities. We cannot find evidence of monumental architecture because pre-Mauryan and certainly pre-Buddha monuments—houses, palaces, forts or temples were mostly of wood, and all this must have perished by now. We would not find much of armoury as remains of chariots, iron weapons and equipments must have been too much rusted or corroded now. We could only expect ground plan of mud or mud-brick mostly in horizontal excavations. We should also bear in mind the changes in the course of the rivers and occurrance of floods at times which might have ruined completely or destroyed even existence of the built up cities mainly on river-banks. The Son which flows 12 km. west of Patna now was flowing in Pataliputra in the time of Patanjali. Our archaeologists should therefore bear in mind these limitations natural and man-made, and lack of adequate financial backing and then tread on the delicate ground where 'angels fear to tread'. There is no reason to lose hope. Schlimanh's optimism should be infecture, and Bible is being vindicated in Palestine and Mesopotainea. What is needed is faith, devotion and human and financial resources.

Archaeology is a positive science. What it finds is absolute truth, but what has not been found, unearthed, does not necessarily non-exist. Future may belie our present presumption. And what has not been found by archaeology has not been taken to be non-existent. Much of our history to-day is non-archaeological. Archaeology is adding immense dimensions to our knowledge. Hats off to Archaeology but a word of caution as well. Even to-day Western archaeologists are sincerely and seriously searching remains of the Noha's Ark. They will not rest content unless completely convinced about its existence or non-existence. Has our archaeology reached its that finality about the Mahabharata War and its times ? Certainly not. Archaeology has not proved the Mahabharata War *as yet*. But it is too early for archaeologists to conclude that it is *unreal*. Traditions are not to be dismissed so easily. I cannot but end with Pargiter's words—All human testimony is liable to error and tradition is human testimony concerning the long past, hence it is not to be discarded simply because it contains discrepancies. Ancient Indian historical traditions must be examined and weighed with the aid of *all* information available and of *experience* and *commonsense*.[18] We should not be deterred by the confusion in

18 F. E. Pargiter—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition—1962–p. 18

chronology and sequence in some of the traditional stories release in the Mahabharata and the Puranas. There is confusion in the story of Saul king of Israel and Saul (Paul) the religious teacher in the Old Testament, "yet would any one say—the confusion of the chronology in the tales of Saul is a good example of the worthlessness of the supposed historical books of the old Testament.[19] Pargiter observed—"The position now is this. There is a strong presumption in favour of tradition; if any one contest tradition, the burden lies on him to show that it is wrong, and till he does that, tradition holds good".[20] In my opinion the position as stated by Pargiter in 1922 is not far away from it to-day. The Archaeologists friends have not yet shown conclusively that the tradition is wrong. They can say as yet they have not proved it archaeologically. But this is not enough to show that the Mahabharata War did not, rather could not, happen at all.

19 Ibid. p. 11
20 Ibid. p. 6



UDAYANA AND VAIṢṆAVA ĀCĀRYAS

DR. V. VARADACHARI
Reader in Sanskrit
S. V. University College,
Tirupati

Udayana (1050 A.D.)[1] was the greatest exponent of Nyāya in the 11th century A. D. The adherents of the Nyāya traditions treated him as Ācārya[2] or more properly as Nyāyācārya[3]. Uddyotakara, Vācaspati Miśra, Bhāsarvajña and Jayantabhaṭṭa were his predecessors in the Nyāya field and Praśastapāda, Vyomaśiva and Śrīdhara preceded him in the sphere of Vaiśeṣika. Śivāditya, Keśava Miśra and Varadarāja followed him in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika spheres. The contributions of all these writers have been substantial and mainly instrumental to the rich development of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems in the later periods. Yet, Udayana alone won the coveted name Ācārya or Nyāyācārya conferred upon him by later writers out of recognition of the invaluable contributions made by him through his Nyāyakusumāñjali and Ātmatattvaviveka.

Udayana's influence on the Vedānta school is noteworthy on two grounds. His conclusions and findings were frequently referred to by later writers on Vedānta either for acceptance with readiness or with change or for treating them as prima facie position. Secondly, he came to be recognized as Nyāyācārya[4] and Nyāyavid[5].

---

1 For a discussion on the date of Udayana, see Vol. II Part 4 of the Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.

2 Vide :—Śaśadhara : Nyāyasiddhānta dīpa Pp. 362-3
Varadarāja : Tārkikarakṣā Pp 65, 86, 174, 337
Mallīnātha : Niṣkaṇṭaka on Tārkikarakṣā P. 44
Gadādhara : Commentary on Dīdhiti-Anumāna Khaṇḍa P. 1997.
Gopīnatha refers to him as Ācāryacaraṇa
Vide :—Maṇisāra Anumānakhaṇḍa P. 14

3 Vide :—Cennubhatta refers to him as Udayanācārya in his Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā P. 155, and as abhiyukta ibid. P. 236.
Varadarāja : Tārkikarakṣā Pp. 77, 250

Cennubhaṭṭa refers to Kumārilabhaṭṭa as Nyāyācārya. Vide : Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā P. 169 where he quotes Ślokavārttika-sphoṭavāda P. 102

4 Vide :—Ātreya Rāmānuja : N. Ku. P. 63
Vedānta Deśika : N. P. P. 120
" S. S. 3 . 23
" S.M. P. 46
" S.D. Vāda 11

5 Vide :—N. Ku. Pp. 23, 162
SS. 4. 42; 4. 114

The principles of religion and philosophy are based on the foundations laid down in the Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras. The epistemological and metaphysical aspects of Philosophy as they were preached by Kaṇāda and Gautama were taken as antagonistic to the traditional doctrines preached in the Vedas[1]. The Vaiṣṇava teachers did not therefore accept what was taught in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika systems quite readily[2]. The Nyāyatattva of Nāthamuni, the Āgamaprāmāṇya and Siddhitraya of Yāmunācārya and the commentaries of Rāmānuja on the Brahmasūtras formed the basis for the building up of the Vaiṣṇava epistemology and metaphysics. Under the influence of the works of these writers, the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas, who flourished in the post-Rāmānuja period, subjected the principles of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika to severe criticism and evolved their own conclusions. In this context, Udayana's contributions were much utilised by these writers.

Udayana is mentioned by his name, as Nyāyācārya[3] and Nyāyavid[4]. His works are individually cited by name[5]. Several passages are quoted for support and also for refutation without citing their source.

Among the writers of the Vaiṣṇava school, Varadaviṣṇu Miśra could be mentioned as the earliest writer who was influenced by Udayana. He was the nephew of Rāmānuja and played a prominent role in the writing of the Śrībhāṣya[6]. The second writer was Parāśara-

---

1 Vide :—काणादशाक्यपाषण्डैस्त्रयीधर्मो विलोपितः ।
त्रिदण्डधारिणा पूर्वं विष्णुना रक्षिता त्रयी ॥
—attributed to Atri smṛti, but not found in the printed text
एतेन वेदापरिगृहीतसांख्यपक्षक्षयणेन, परिशिष्टाश्च वेदापरिगृहीताः कणभक्षाक्षपादक्षपणकभिक्षुपक्षाः क्षपिता वेदितव्याः ।
Śrībhāṣya 2-1-13

2 cf. भगवन्नाथमुनिभिर्न्यायतत्त्वसमाह्वया ।
अवधीर्यक्षपादादि न्यवन्धि न्यायपद्धतिः ॥
NP. P. 87

3 See under 4

4 See under 5

5 Kiraṇāvalī in N. D. P. 154
NK. in NP. P. 156
Tātparyapariśuddhi in Tattvaṭīkā P. 6

6 The following śloka, which is in praise of him, is worth noting in this context :—
यस्मिन् पदं यतिवरस्य मुखात्प्रणेतुं
निष्क्रामदेव निदधे निगमान्तभाष्यम् ।
तस्यैव तं भगवतः प्रियभागिनेयं
वन्दे गुरुं वरदविष्णुपदाभिधानम् ॥
Guruparampara P. 254

bhaṭṭa[1] (1062-1165 A. D.), son of Śrīvatsāṅka Miśra, an immediate disciple of Rāmānuja. The next writer was Ātreya Rāmānuja (1220-1310), pupil of Vātsya Varadācārya and maternal uncle and preceptor of Vedānta-Deśika (1268-1369 A. D.) The fourth writer was Meghanādāri who was the immediate predecessor of Vedānta Deśika. The most important writer who utilised Udayana's works fully was Vedānta Deśika whose Nyāyapariśuddhi, Nyāyasiddhāñjana, and Tattvamuktākalāpa with his own gloss Sarvārthasiddhi contain many a conclusion on the points of dispute which are final beyond the point of question.

The high light of Udayana's impact on Vaiṣṇavism lies in awarding the title Vedānta Udayana on an eminent exponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita by Rāmānuja himself. It is held that Rāmānuja wrote a commentary on the Brahmasūtras which was hailed as Śrībhāṣya by Goddess Sarasvatī in Kashmir[2]. The Vaiṣṇava tradition, as preserved in a śloka[3], tells that this commentary was sent to Kashmir by Rāmānuja through his disciple Praṇatārtihara. This pupil showed it to Goddess Śāradā in Kashmir who gave her approval to it. Praṇatārtihara returned to his master who was immensely pleased with his return and conferred on him the title Vedānta Udayana. Praṇatartihara, who belonged to Atreya Gotra, was known as Ātreyācārya. He was personally attending to the daily needs of his guru Rāmānuja. Conferment of this title Vedānta Udayana on Praṇatartihara reveals two interesting facts. One is Udayana, who flourished about the middle, perhaps in the first half of the 11th century, and became widely reputed as the one exponent of Nyāya. The Vaiṣṇava school as headed by Rāmānuja at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th centuries was quite aware of Udayana's greatness as the undisputed authority on Nyāya. The second fact is that Rāmānuja must have conferred the title Vedānta Udayana on one who

---

1 The traditional account fixes 1122 A. D. as his date of birth. This seems to be incorrect, since his father who born in 1031 A. D. must have been 91 years old in 1122 A. D. It is better to take him to have lived for 28 years after Rāmānujaś demise in 1137 A. D. and not his life as 28 years as stated in the Guruparamparā P. 315

2 See C. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar Sri Ramanujacharya–PP. 175-6

3 श्रीभाष्यं दर्शयित्वा यतिपतिविरचितं शारदायै
निवृत्ते नत्वा श्रीवेङ्कटेशं पथि परमपदं दत्तवान् गोपिकायै
आख्यां वेदोत्तमाङ्गोदयन इति ददद्भाष्यकारेण दत्तां
आत्रेयाचार्याय विष्णोरनुजमनुदिनं सादरं तं नमामि ॥

Guruparamparā P. 254

From this śloka, Rāmānuja does not seem to have presented his commentary on the Brahmasūtras before Goddess Sarasvatī in Kashmir.

must have achieved unique distinction in the field of Vaiṣṇava Vedānta. This scholar's greatness should have been equalled by that of Udayana. Praṇatārtihara was therefore by no means a simple attendant on Rāmānuja[1]. If he were not one such, he would not have been sent with a treatise which required recognition at the hands of scholars in Kashmir. He should have been challenged to discussions in Kashmir by the leading exponents of other schools of thought and must have won distinction there to be treated as the upholder of the Vaiṣṇava Vedānta. Rāmanuja, who should have recognized the glorious role which his illustrious disciple played, must have conferred upon him the coveted title Vedānta Udayana. It is interesting to note here that Rāmānuja did not confer any title similar to this on any other disciple. Praṇatārtihara appears to have been the author of some works on Vedānta[2].

Among the various topics that attracted the scholars of Vaiṣṇava Vedānta, the definition of cognition is to be mentioned at the outset. According to Udayana,[3] cognition is that which illumines the (its) object and so is to be inferred. Vedānta Deśika refers to this[4] and refutes it.

The question of validity of the cognition gets detailed treatment at the hands of all philosophers. While the Nyāya school maintains extrinsic validity, the viśiṣṭādvaita school upholds intrinsic validity. The

---

1 Vide :—इति यतिराजमहानसपरिमलपरिवाहवासितां पिबत ।
विबुधपरिषन्निषेव्यां वेदान्तोदयनसंप्रदायसुधाम् ।।

Vedānta Deśika. Rahasyatrayasāra ch. 32

Vide also प्रत्युद्गतं तं प्रणतं यतीशं त्वद्देहमानिप्रणतार्तिहर्त्तां ।
स्वंशोधितां स्वीकुरुनित्यभिक्षांमित्यूचतुस्तौ स तथाकरोच्च ।।

Yatindravaibhava,

Praṇatārtihara was, besides being a scholar, a personal attendant on Rāmānuja. Vide - Yatirājavaibhava of Āndhrapūrṇa.

2 That he was a writer of repute is clear from the following passage

श्रीमद्भाष्यकार शिष्यधुरन्धरैरात्रेयाचार्य श्रीविष्णुचित्तवरदाचार्यवादिहंसनवाम्बुदप्रभृतिभिस्तत्तद्ग्रन्थेषूपपादनात् । Varadanātha : Adhikaraṇacintāmaṇi on Adhikaraṇasārāvalī 24. Praṇatārtihara was also known as Ātreyācārya. It is worth noting that his name is mentioned to lead the list cited above.

3 Vide :—अर्थप्रकाशो बुद्धिः । Lakṣaṇāvalī P. 11

4 SS. P. 394

former theory receives severe criticism and is set forth in the very words used by Udayana in his Nyāyakusumāñjali[1]. Vide :

प्रमा ज्ञानहेत्वतिरिक्तहेत्वधीना कार्यत्वे सति तद्विशेषत्वात् अप्रमावदिति । यदि च ज्ञानहेतुमात्राधीना भवेत्, अप्रमापि प्रमैव भवेत् ।

The Nyāya basis that the merits of the speaker account for the validity and his defects for invalidity is also controverted using the very expressions with slight alterations by Ātreya Rāmānuja[2] and Vedānta Deśika[3]. While rejecting this view, Vedānta Deśika refers to the concept[4] held by Vācaspatimiśra that inference and analogy are intrinsically valid. Udayana, who claims to be a faithful exponent of Vācaspatimiśra[5], should stick to intrinsic validity[6]. It is further stated that Udayana would have done so but for his eagerness to maintain the authority of the Vedas as the composition of God, for which he had to stand by extrinsic validity[7].

1 N. K. II P. 1

2 N Ku. PP. 18, 19, 23, 25

3 SM. PP. 35-38; NP. PP. 155-7; SS.4.102;
cf. NP. P. 155 and NK. II. 7 where the passage प्रामाण्यंपरतो ज्ञायते अनभ्यासदशायां सांशयिकत्वात् अप्रामाण्यवत् is quoted.

4 Vācaspatimiśra's Tātparyaṭīkā P. 9

5 Vide : मातः सरस्वति पुनः पुनरेव नत्वा ।
बद्धाञ्जलिः किमपि विज्ञपयाम्यवेहि ।
वाक्चेतसोर्मम तथा भव सावधाना
वाचस्पतेर्वचसि न स्खलतो यथैते ॥
Maṅgalaśloka in the Tātparyapariśuddhi

6 Vide : किं च भवत्पक्षपक्षपातिना वाचस्पतिना न्यायवार्त्तिकतात्पर्यटीकादिषु प्रामाण्यस्थापकानुमाने स्वपरनिर्वाहकसमाधिस्वीकारात् स्वतः प्रामाण्यमाश्रितम् । तच्च 'वाचस्पतेर्वचसि न स्खलते य एकः' इति वदता तात्पर्यशुद्धिकारेणापि स्वीकार्यम्, गत्यन्तराभावात्, स्वपरनिर्वाहगतेस्सर्वविद्वत्परिगृहीतत्वाच्च । SM. P. 35. The reading य एकः seems to be incorrect in the light of the śloka cited under 23. Regarding Vācaspati's attitude, the following passage of Udayana is worth noting : प्रामाण्यनिश्चयस्तु तस्यापि परत एवेति न्यायसम्प्रदायः । इत एव विशेषात्तादृशस्य स्वत एवेति तात्पर्याचार्याः ।
Ātmatattvaviveka PP. 697-698

7 Vide : अतएव न्यायविदो वेदस्याप्तपुरुषपूर्वकत्वात्प्रामाण्यमतिष्ठन्त इति । N Ku. P. 23., ईश्वरानुमानान्यथासिद्धिपरिहाराय परतः प्रामाण्यं न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलौ समर्थ्यते । N P. P. 156

On the theory of error, the Prābhākara school of Mimāṃsā maintains Akhyāti. Udayana criticises this view and writes[1].

न च सर्वत्र भेदाग्रहस्य प्रवृत्तिकारणत्वमभ्युपगच्छतोऽभेदग्रहे किंचित्प्रमाणमस्ति ।

The Viśiṣṭādvaita school upholds the Prābhākara theory in a way and hence Meghanādari reproduces the remarks cited above and criticises it[2]. Vide :

अतो न किरणावल्यादौ न भेदाग्रहस्य च प्रवृत्तिहेतुत्वम् इत्युक्तं दूषणजातमस्मत्पक्ष बाधकम् ।

On perception, the Viśiṣṭādvaita school disagrees from the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika regarding the classification of perception into Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka. The former school does not recognize Nirvikalpaka as mode-less (niṣprakāraka)[3]. Udayana hence is reported to have made the statement सहकारिवैकल्यात्तु निर्विकल्पके समवायाग्रहणमिति । Vedānta Deśika[4] reproduces this and adds न्यायाचार्यं इति चेत् and criticises it. This statement does not occur in any of the works of Udayana available at present.

Inference shall be flawless and the flaw is of the nature of adventitious circumstance (upādhi). Udayana[5] defines it as साधनाव्यापकत्वे सति साध्यव्यापकः । He makes it clear thus[6]:—कः पुनरुपाधिः ? साध्यप्रयोजकं निमित्तान्तरम् । किमस्य लक्षणम् ? साधनाव्यापकत्वे सति साध्यव्यापकत्वम् ।

Vedānta Deśika reproduces it[7] as साधनाव्यापकत्वे सति साध्यसमव्याप्तः साधनधर्मव्यतिरिक्तो धर्म उपाधिः ।

The definition of Udayana does not actually contain the word

1 Kiraṇāvalī P. 269

2 ND. P. 154. Note Rāmānuja advocated yathārthakhyāti. Śrībhāṣya P. 90., ND. ch. 8. The Prābhākara's theory was accomodated with this and a new theory called Akhyātisamvalitayathārthakhyāti was evolved by Vedānta Deśika. SS. 4. 11

3 Śrībhāṣya PP. 61-62

4 SD. Vāda 11

5 NK. III P. 30; Kiraṇāvalī P. 301

6 Ātmatattvaviveka P. 863

7 NP. PP. 99-100, ND. (P. 195) does not use the wor ...a in the definition.

'sama' but all the commentators[1] interpret the definition as having the sense of 'sama'.

When a probans is sublated, it shows that it must be having upādhi. or, the presence of upādhi may be noted even though there is no sublation, that is, when the probans is not established. Udayana's passage[2] makes this clear. Vide :—

तस्माद् बाधेन वोपाधिरुन्नीयते, अन्यथा वेति न कश्चिद्विशेष. ।

Meghanadari[3] supports this view. There[4] is an interesting statement in the Kiraṇāvali regarding the way in which upādhi is to be determined.

Vide :—तद्य संक्षेपः । व्यभिचार एव प्रतिबन्धाभावः । उपाधेरेव व्यभिचारशङ्का । प्रमाणनिश्चित एवोपाधित्वेन शङ्कनीयः । साधने सोपाधिः साध्ये निरूपाधिरेवोपाधित्वेन निश्चेयः ।

This shows that it is through upādhi alone, the probans could be known to be inconclusive. Parāśarabhaṭṭa[5] reproduces this in a slightly different way.

1 Vedānta Deśika offers Udayana's definition with the word sama and justifies it. SS. 4. 43. In his Bodhanī (P. 110) on NK. Varadarāja writes :—एकस्मिन् साध्ये साधनत्वेनोपप्लवमानयोः यः साधनाव्यापकत्वे सति साध्यसमव्याप्तिकः स इतरस्य साध्यसंबन्धे उपाधिः स्यात् ! While commenting on the Ātmatattvaviveka, (P. 864) Saṃkaramiśra writes :— निमित्तान्तरमिति । साध्यप्रयोजकान्तरमित्यर्थः । समव्याप्तोधौ तात्पर्यम् । cf. Ānandabodhabhaṭṭāraka : Nyāyadīpāvalī : Annals of Oriental Research Vol. XI 1953-54 parts 1-2., Ānandānubhava : Padārthatattvanirṇaya P. 38; Vyāsayati : Tarkatāṇḍava P. 89

2 NK. II P 39

3 ND. P. 197

4 Kiraṇāvalī P. 301, Tātparyapariśuddhi PP. 676 and 683.

5 Vedānta Deśika quotes, in NP. P. 101; a lengthy passage from the Tattvaratnākarawhich begins with तदेष संक्षेपः introducing it with the words एवं चोपसंहृतम् । This suggests that the passage should have formed part of the Tattvaratnākara. On the other hand, the passage, which is cited from the Kiraṇāvalī under 36, occurs also in the same expressions in the Tātparyapariśuddhi PP. 676 and 683. Udayana does not quote these from any source. Evidently this passage is Udayana's. Parāśarabhaṭṭa must be quoting from Udayana, though Vedānta Deśika does not refer to this.

Vide :—तदेष (बहुरूपः) संक्षेपः व्यभिचार एव हि प्रतिबन्धाभावः, उपाधिरेव व्यभिचारनिदानम् । प्रमाणनिश्चित एवोपाधित्वेन शङ्कनीयः । साधने सोपाधिस्साध्ये निरूपाधिरेवोपाधित्वेन निश्चेयः ।

Udayana's treatment[1] of the fallacy asiddhi and its classification into three kinds is advised and the entire passage is quoted by Meghanādāri[2].

Meghanādāri[3] sets forth Udayana's argument for admitting upamāna as a distinct pramāṇa by citing the Kārikā II (Nyāyakusumāñjali ; (Ch. III) and rejects it[4], as it does not conform to the concept of Prabhākara on upamāna which he admits. On the other hand, Vedānta Deśika[5] rejects Udayana's theory recorded in the above kārikā, and denies to upamāna a place in the Vaiṣṇava epistemology.

The Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas hold that the use of words is governed not by man-made conventions but by the inspiration derived from God. In this respect, this concept is akin to that preached by Udayana to the effect that God acts like a magician and preaches various conventions to people. Vedānta Deśika[6] writes accordingly :—

एवमयमीश्वरोपज्ञं प्रवृत्तस्सर्वशब्दव्यवहारः । ते च न्यायाचार्यमायावत्समयादयः ।

The study of the Vedas consists in creating perfection to one's own Veda. This creation of perfection (saṃskāra) should be only for the agent of Vedic study. In support of this interpretation, Vedānta Deśika[7] cites Udayana[8] for support.

vide :— संस्कारः पुंस एवेष्टो मन्त्रप्रोक्षणादिभिरिति वदद्भिरध्ययनसंस्कारोऽपि कर्तुरेवेति स्वीकृतः ।

Vedānta Deśika argues for the need to perform the traditional sacred rites on the very same lines using almost the same expressions

1 NK: III P. 39.

2 ND. P. 200

3 It is curious to note that Meghanādāri alone, among the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas, admits five pramāṇas like the Prābhākaras. Nayaprakāśikā P. 1342

4 See ND P. 215 for the refutation of Udayana's position.

5 NP. P. 175, SS. 4-77

6 NK. II 2. This is cited in SM. on 1-1-21. For a detailed discussion on the import of Vidhi, see NP. PP. 162-166.

7 Tattvaṭīkā, P 36

8 NK. I. udayana reads प्रोक्षणाभ्युक्षणादिभिः instead of मन्त्रप्रोक्षणादिभिः ।

contained in the Nyāyakusumāñjali.[1] The Nyāya position regarding God's authorship of the Vedas is set forth by Vedānta Deśika using Udayana's arguments[2] and is rejected. Similarly Udayana's arguments for deluge and creation which succeed one after the other are reproduced by Vedānta Deśika.[3]

Udayana takes the sense of injunction as that of the intention of the speaker[4]. The Mīmāṃsaka's interpretation of the injunctions of the prohibitory type is criticised by him[5]. Vedānta Deśika refers to these arguments of Udayana and criticises them. He states that injunction refers only to what is to be achieved through the operation or the work of an agent[6].

The difference between the Vedas and the texts of the heterodox systems is well brought out by Vedānta Deśika by using the expressions such as अनन्यगतिकत्वं, कर्तव्याकर्तव्यनियमेषु लाघवं, परैर्वंचनं कुतर्काभ्यासव्यामोहो, वृत्तिस्वास्थ्यं and अशनाच्छादनादिसौकर्यम् and others[7]. Vedānta Deśika is much indebted to Udayana who states the motives which prompt people to take to the faith of the Buddhists[8]. He cites Udayana's passage that the difference between the religious practices of the two schools lies in the motive or the cause being known in one's cause and unknown in the other.

Vide :—इदमेव न्यायविद्भिरपि हेतुदर्शनादर्शनाभ्यां विवेकादित्युच्यते ।[9]
cf. हेतुदर्शनादर्शनाभ्यां विशेषः ।[10]

---

1 cf. NP. P. 158 with NK. I P. 34
2 cf..SS. 4 III with NK. V PP. 62-63
3 cf. NK. II PP. 53-54 with NP. PP. 159-160
4 NK. V 15
5 ibid. V PP.132-133
6 Vide :—लिङादेः कोऽयमर्थः परिगृहीतो भवति ? यजदेवपूजायमिति देवताराधनभूतयागादेः प्रकृत्यर्थस्य कर्तृव्यापारसाध्यतां व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धां लिङादयोऽभिदधतीति न किंचिदनुपपन्नम् । Vedārthasaṃgraha P. 36. Reproducing this, Vedānta Deśika criticises udayana's position thus :—यद्यपि परमते ह्युदयनोक्ता निषेधानुपपत्तिः, तथापि न सा अस्मत्पक्षमवगाहते, कर्त्तव्यताया विध्यर्थत्वे न कर्तव्य इति नञन्वयाविरोधात्, कर्तृव्यापारसाध्यत्वमेव च कर्त्तव्यत्वम् ।
NP. P. 164

7 SS. 4.114; NP. 158
8 NK. II P. 66
9 SS. 4.114
10 NK. I P. 35

Udayana's influence on the Vaiṣṇava philosophy is revealed in the treatment of presumption as an independent means of proof. It is brought under the Kevalavyatireki kind of inference and this gets treatment in Kārikās 18 and 19 of chapter III of the Nyāyakusumāñjali. Vedānta Deśika reproduces the same arguments by citing the same Kārikās but with a small difference. Presumption is only inference but not of the kevalavya tirekī kind.[1]

The Nyāya school does not admit recollection, which is a form of knowledge, as valid. When it is dependent upon and as arising from a valid knowledge, it is stated to be valid. Really speaking, there is no validity to be attached to recollection.[2] Vedānta Deśika refutes this and maintains recollection to be valid.[3] His passage appears to be based on the arguments offered by Udayana against the validity of recollection.

The realistic school of Nyāya cannot admit of the total denial of the objective existence of the world. An object could be denied only if it has objective existence. This can be done with reference to time and place. Vedānta Deśika expresses his full agreement with this view[4] contained in the Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayana.[5]

Udayana's classification of the Vaiśeṣika categories[6] into positive and negative is condemned by Vedānta Deśika on the ground that there is no category called abhāva.[7]

The atomic theory of the Vaiśeṣikas admits the triad to be perceptible with the colour of external light superimposed on it and thus appearing with an yellow tinge. This needs to be admitted, because the component parts namely dyads are imperceptible as also their colour. Vedānta Deśika reproduces Udayana's arguments in this context.

Vide :—यथा चाहोदयनः दृश्यमेव ह्यालोकरूपमारोप्य पिञ्जरस्त्रसरेणुरालोच्यत इति ।

The Vaiṣṇava school rejects the concept of the composite whole as distinct from its component parts and so Udayana's explanation for the perception of the triad is rejected.[8]

1. NP. PP. 175-176; SS.4.128
2. Tātparyapariśuddhi PP. 162-166
3. SS. 5-77
4. NK. III P. 13
5. Tattvaṭīkā P. 99
6. Lakṣaṇāvalī P. 1.
7. N P. P. 178
8. SS. 1, 22

Ākāśa does not possess colour and so is denied visual perceptibility by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. The presence of an object like a bird in a particular part of the sky is explained by Udayana as perceivable on account of external light present there and observed by the eye. This cannot justify why external light is referred to as present only there and not elsewhere in the sky. Udayana therefore states that the component parts of light could be treated to be present there where the bird's presence is observed.[1]

Vide :—कथं तर्हीह पक्षी नेह पक्षीति प्रत्यय इति चेत्, आलोकमण्डलमाश्रित्येति ब्रूमः। तथापीहालोको नेहालोक इति कथमितिचेत् तदवयवानाश्रित्येति। Vedānta Deśika refers to this in his passage अत्रोदयनाद्युक्तमाशङ्कते। तस्यांशैरिति। and rejects this explanation, since such parts are not visible.[2]

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika schools do not recognize darkness as a substance distinct from light. Rather it is only the negation of light. Udayana's argument[3] runs thus :—तमो द्रव्यं न भवति आलोकनिरपेक्षचक्षुर्ग्राह्यत्वात् आलोकाभाववत्। Vedānta Deśika remarks that the minor term and the example are not different from each other and so rejects the Nyāya position and maintains that darkness is an independent category.[4]

The universal is of two kinds namely, para and apara. Two universals when they are present in the same object should bear the relation of higher and lower to each other. Two universals which are contradictory to each other shall not find room in the same object. This Nyāya concept which was held by Udayana[5] is admitted by Vedānta Deśika with a change to the effect that even contradictory universals shall be present in the same object.[6]

The concept of Ālayavijñāna of the Yogācāra school of Buddhism is criticised by Vedānta Deśika[7] much in the same way as Udayana[8] did using similar expressions.

---

1. Kiraṇāvalī P 300
2. SS. I. 42
3. Lakṣaṇāvalī P. 2
4. NS. p. 202, tamas and ālokābhāva are not distinct from each other according to the Nyāya School.
5. Vide :—विधिरूपयोर्व्यावृत्तिरूपयोर्वा जात्योर्विरोधे सति न समावेशः। N.K. 1. 79
6. Vide :—समाविष्टानां जातीनां परापर भावः परस्परपरिहारेण वर्तमानानां जातीनां न समावेश इति केषांचित्संकेतो न्यायवादिनां, " तन्नोपपद्यते" "यथोपाधौ दृष्टत्वात् संकरः स्वीक्रियते तथा जातावपि संकरः स्वीकार्य इत्यर्थः। SS. P. 696-697.
7. S. S. 1. 30
8. NK, I., 15

Vedānta Deśika criticises the theory of the materialists that the body itself is the soul. The deeds done in a particular birth bear fruits in subsequent births and the doer of them should be the same as the enjoyer of the results. Such deeds do not get attended with visible results and on that score they could not be denied validity nor could the prudent persons who do them be condemned. Vedānta Deśika's arguments[1] are mostly modelled upon those of Udayana, which are offered in the Nyāyakusumāñjali.[2]

The Vedāntins are against adopting inference as the means for proving the existence of God. So Udayana's arguments receive very heavy criticism at the hands of the exponents of Viśiṣṭādvaita system. Proposing the argument क्षित्यादि कर्तृपूर्वकं कार्यत्वात्, Udayana shows that this cannot be sublated or opposed. Earth and others are shown to be products which lead to proving that there should be an agent for them. If they could not be shown to be effects, the argument stated above cannot be assailed. Thus there is no contradiction between the two positions, namely, the establishment of earth being an effect and the non-establishment of it as such. Besides, non-establishment cannot be proved.

Vide :—न बाधोऽस्योपजीव्यत्वात् प्रतिबन्धो न दुर्बलैः ।
सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योर्विरोधो नो नासिद्धिरनिबन्धना ।।

Nyāyakusumāñjali V. 2

Vedānta Deśika rejects this in the Kārikā

सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योर्विरोधो नेत्येवं प्रलपतस्तव ।
विरोधसिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योश्च तन्निषेधो निषिद्ध्यते ।।

Nyāyasiddhāñjana P. 230

The arguments which Udayana offers in the Nyāyakusumāñjali V.I. are refuted by Vedānta Deśika in the passage[3] कार्यायोजन··· विश्वविदव्यय इति न्यायाचार्यसंगृहीतानां सर्वेषां हेतूनां स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेन निरस्तप्रायत्वं निगमनव्याजेन नियमयति । Many other reasonings of Udayana on this subject are reproduced with slight difference and rejected[4]. The passage एकासिद्धि

1. SS. 2. 17; 5.79; SD. Vāda 4
2. NK. I PP, 34-35
3. SS. 3.16; 3-23
4. SS. 3,15; NKn. P. 95

परिहरतो द्वितीयापत्तेः is cited and severely criticised.[1] Likewise, Udayana's argument[2] to prove God's existence through His being a guide and instructor of humanity is criticised by Vedānta Deśika[3].

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of mokṣa receives well reasoned treatment in the Kiraṇāvalī[4]. They are referred to and rejected.[5] In this context, Vedānta Deśika[6] refers to Udayana's attempt to treat Prakṛti as meaning the adṛṣṭa of the selves and citing the Kārikā (Nyāyakusumāñjali I. 20), refutes it on the ground[7] that this amounts to admitting the secondary import for the word prakṛti which is not justified.

Udayana defines body (śarīra) as भोगायतनमन्त्यावयवि[8] and as यदवच्छिन्ने आत्मनि भोगस्तदन्त्यावयवि[9]. Both are severely criticised by Vedānta Deśika[10] and Meghanādāri[11]. The Bhāṭṭa's theory of an all-pervasive soul, as stated by Udayana[12] for refutation is stated by Vedanta Deśika[13] in expressions suggestive of his indebtedness to Udayana.

Udayana's evaluation of Tarka as व्याघातावधिराशङ्का तर्कः शङ्कावधिर्मतः ।[14] is admitted with approval by Vedānta Deśika.[15] Parāśarabhaṭṭa[16] seems to have been aware of Udayana's statement[17] तर्कश्च सर्वशङ्कानिराकरणपटीयान्

1. This is taken from the Ātmatattvaviveka P. 834 and cited in SS. P. 291. The reading in Udayana is एकामसिद्धि. The correct reading is however contained in SS. P. 289 where the same passage is quoted by Vedānta Deśika. Rāmarudra's identification of this passage as taken from the Kusumāñjali is wrong. Vide :- Rāmarudrī on the Siddhāntamuktāvalī Dinakarī, P. 33. N. S. P. Edn.
2. NK. II 53-54
3. SS. 275-276
4. Kiraṇavālī P. 9
5. SS. P. 241
6. ibid. P. 20
7. ibid. p. 20
8. Lakṣaṇāvali P-3
9. Kiraṇāvalī P 54
10. NS, P 209; SS. 4. 83
11. N. D. P. 3
12. NK. III PP.I-2
13 SS. P. 97 (1.59)
14. NK. III 7;
15. SS. 4.42; NP. P. 142
16. NP. P. 101
17. Kiraṇāvalī P. 301; Tātparyapariśuddhi; P 695

which he reproduces as सर्वशङ्कातिप्रसङ्गपटीयांश्च तर्कः to show that tarka sets aside all possibilities of the rise of doubt.

While treating jāti, Vedānta Deśika remarks[1] वरदविष्णुमिश्रैस्तु स्वव्याघातातिप्रसङ्गो जातिः। सा च चतुर्विंशतिधा इत्युक्त्वा साधर्म्यादिसूत्रमुपादाय यथोदयनं प्रायो लक्ष्यलक्षणादिकमभुक्तम्। This shows that Varadaviṣṇu Miśra,—a pupil and contemporary of Rāmānuja, wrote his work Mānayāthātmya Nirṇaya under the influence of Udayana. Both Ātreya Rāmānuja[2] and Vedānta Deśika[3] admitted Udayana's definition of jāti which runs as (स्वात्म) सव्याघातकत्वं नाम सर्वजातिसाधारणम्।[4] Vedānta Deśika refers to[5] a discussion on the definition as contained in the Nyāyapariśiṣṭa of Udayana.[6]

Vide :—तदेतदीदृशमसामर्थ्यविशेषं विवक्षित्वा प्रतिषेधसामर्थ्यं जातिलक्षणमुक्तं न्यायवार्त्तिकेतादृशासामर्थ्यभूतं स्वव्याघातकत्वमेव न्यायाचार्येण लक्षणीकृतम्। तच्च युक्ततमम्, साधारणस्य दूषणविशेषस्य स्फुटप्रतीतेः।

The seven steps[7] in employing Jāti are stated by Udayana's Nyāyapariśiṣṭa[8] as

लक्ष्यं लक्षणमुत्थितिः स्थितिपदं मूलं फलं शातनं
जातीनां सविशेषमेतदखिलं प्रव्यक्तमुक्तं रहः।
तद्वन्निग्रहसंहतेरपि गतिर्विस्पष्ट मावेदिता
यस्मिन्नुरुत्तर भीरुभिर्गुरुतरैरालस्यमध्यासितम्॥

these are quoted and approved by Vedānta Deśika.[9]

There is a strong difference of opinion between the Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā school on the principle of causal relation. While the former holds that non-existence could also be a cause with reference to an effect, the latter denies it and instead admits potentiality (śakti) as accounting for the production of the effect. The Viśiṣṭādvaita school aligns itself with the Mīmāṃsaka theorists in this respect. Ātreya

1. N, P. 122
2. NKu PP. 63-64
3. NP. P. 120
4. Nyāyaparisiṣṭa PP. 6-7
5. NP. P. 120
6. Nyāyapariśiṣṭa
7. NP. P. 121
8. Nyāyapariśiṣṭa, PP4-7
9. NP. P. 121

Rāmānuja[1] and Vedānta Deśika[2] reproduce Udayana's passages[3] with slight alterations in stating the prima facie view. The Kārikā 10 in ch. I of the Nyāyakusumāñjali is quoted. By admitting potentiality which is not otherwise established or admitted on the strength of the Āgama, the Vaiṣṇava position does not become the same as that of Udayana who does not admit potentiality as distinct from the nature (of the cause) and the accessories.[4]

Vide :—नन्वेवमुदयनादीनामिव स्वरूपसहकारिव्यतिरिक्तशक्त्यभाव: प्रसक्त इति चेत्, अनन्यथासिद्धयुक्तिवशादागमबलाद्वा तत्सिद्धे: ।

While dealing with the Nigrahāsthanas, Udayana offers some instructions at[5] the end of his treatment of each. This had influenced Vedanta Deśika[6] in offering a similar instruction at the end of some of the Nigrahasthānas.

The writers on the Śāstraic topics have been giving themselves to treat some of the significant passages occurring in the works of well-known writers as maxims (nyāya). For instance, a passage[7] in the Bhagavadgītā is treated as a nyāya. Vedānta Deśika cites two significant passages[8] from the works of Udayana treating them as maxims.

Vide :—1. परस्परविरोधे हि न प्रकारान्तरस्थिति: । (N. K. III 8) A part of it is cited as nyāya.

2. हेत्वभावे फलाभावो विशेषस्तु विशेषवान् । (N. K. III 18) A part of it is cited as nyāya.

A part of the Kārikā (N. K. I 15) is treated as Paribhāṣā.[9] Some passages occurring in the works of Udayana in a particular context have won a general repute to have application in any context[10].
Vide :—आरोपे सति निमित्तानुसरणं न तु निमित्तमस्तीत्यारोप: ।

1. NKu. P. 163, 170
2. SS, P. 717
3. NK I.
4. NP. P. 181; NS. PP. 254-6; SS. 5-98 to 100; NKu. Ch. X
5. Nyāyapariśiṣṭa पूर्णं वदेदिति P. 104
6. NP. P. 116; cf Śaṃkaramiśra : Vādivinoda समानसमयैरेव पदैर्वक्तव्यमिति रहस्यम् । P. 32
7. Bhagavadgītā 9-27 cited in Vedānta Deśika's Gītārthasaṃgraharakṣā on Gītārthasaṃgraha 30.
8. See NP. 35, SD. Vāda 24, SS. P. 288 (3.21)
9. SS. P. 75.
10. The passage which occurs in the Kiranāvalī P. 19 is cited in SS. P. 137.

Vedānta Deśika[1] cites Udayana's usage as authority for justifying the use of the word 'sthema' in the Maṅgalaśloka of the Śrībhāṣya.

Vide :—तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धौ संशयपरीक्षायां······
····· संशयं विनैव स्थेमादिनिर्णयोपपत्तेः ।

In conclusion, it must be admitted that among the non-Vaiṣṇava Ācaryas, it is Udayana that had very much influenced Vedānta Deśika and it is the latter alone that had a thorough grasp of Udayana's writings and wrote his treatises quite as Udayana had done. Perhaps, this can receive an explanation. Vedānta Deśika was the nephew and disciple of Ātreya Rāmanuja, the great grandson of Praṇatārtihara who had the title Vedānta Udayana. Imbibing the traditions from his maternal uncle, Vedānta Deśika should have dived deep into the spirit of Udayana's writings.

---

5 Vide :- तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धौ संशयपरीक्षायां·····संशयं विनैव स्थेमादि निर्णयोत्पत्तेः ।
Tattvaṭikā—P. 6

REFERENCES WITH ABBREVIATIONS

1.	ND. Meghanādāri :	Naya dyumaṇi Madras Govt. Oriental Series.
2.	Meghanādāri :	Nayaprakāśikā included in the Madras edition of the Sūbhāṣya with ten commentaries.
3.	Pinbalakiya Perumāḷ Jīyar :	Guruparamparā
4.	Rāmānuja :	Bhagavad Rāmānuja Granthamala ed. by P. B. Annangancharya includes Srībhāṣya, Vedārthasaṃgraha and other Nyāya Kuliśa
5.	Ramanuja NKu (Atreya) :	Annamalai University edn.
6.	Udayana :	Ātmatattvaviveka with the com. of Saṃkaramiśra—Bibliotheca edn.
7.	,,	Kiraṇavali—Chowkhambha edn.
8.	,,	Tātparyapariśuddhi Bibliotheca edn.
9.	N.K. ,,	Nyāyakusumanjali with Prakāśa—Chawkhambha edn.
10.	,,	Nyāyapariśiṣṭa—Calcutta Sanskrit Series
12.	Varadarāja :	Nyāya kusumāñjali bodhism. Princess of Wales Series
13.	Vedānta Deśika :	Vedānta Deśika Granthamālā ed. by P. B. Annangaracharya Kanchi. includes :
	NP.	1. Nyāyapariśuddhi
	NS ,,	2. Nyāyasiddhāñjanam
	SD ,,	3. Śatadūsaṃ
	SM ,,	4. Seśvavāmimāṃsā
	,,	5. Tattvaṭīkā
14.	Vedānta Deśika SS	Tattvamuktākalāpa with Sarvārthasiddhi Reprint from the Pandit Kashi
15.	Viśvanātha :	Siddhāntamuktavalī with Dinakari N. S. Press, Bombay
16.	Vācaspatimisra :	Tatparyaṭīkā Vijianagaram edn.

PĀṆINI 3, 4, 10

By

M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

0......P ā ṇ i n i teaches in the rule : *prayai rohiṣyai avyathiṣyai* (*A* 3, 4, 10) that the three Vedic words, *prayai, rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai* are *nipātana*-s, denoting the infinitival sense (*tumarthe* recurring from A 3, 4, 9 into 10) in the Sacred Literature (*chandasi* drawn from *A* 3, 4, 6 into 10). Although P. treats these words as *nipātana*-s, the Pāṇinīya-s have found it convenient to derive them from the process :

pra √*yā* + *Kai* = *prayai* 'to go' ;
√*ruh* + *iṣyai* (*roh* + *iṣyai*) = *rohiṣyai* 'to ascend' ; and
a √*vyath* + *iṣyai* = *avyathiṣyai* 'not to feel pain'.

1......That the *nipātana* word is made by means of Kai (a kṛt suffix) is suggested by the *Kāśikā ad A* 3, 4, 10 as under :

pra-pūrvasya yāteḥ Kai-pratyayaḥ

The need for treating the kṛt-pratyaya (Kai) as a *nipātana* arises here, because this suffix has not been enumerated in the list of fifteen infinitival bound morphemes taught in *A* 3, 4, 9. The exponent K causes the elision of the final *ā* of the root before the suffix Kai through the force of *A* 6, 4, 64. Consequently *prayai* will have to be constructed in accordance with the following grammatical steps :

pra √*yā* + *Kai*..... *Kai* by *nipātana* (*A* 3, 4, 10)
= ,, ,, + ϕ − *ai*..... K = ϕ by *A* 1, 3, 8-9.
= ,, *y* − ϕ + *ai* .... *ā* = ϕ by *A* 6, 4, 64

= *prayai*......suffix initial accented by *A* 3, 1, 3. Thus *prayaì* is an oxytonic infinitive in P.'s system of accentuation.

The author of the *K*. shows the occurrence of the infinitive in *ṚV* 1, 142, 6 b : *prayaí devébhyo mahīḥ*. The verse is addressed to the Āpris by the seer-poet who beseeches them to throw open the divine doors (*dvāro devīḥ*) for the devas to enter (*prayai devebhyaḥ*). Accordingly Geldner renders 1,142,6 b as, "Die göttlichen sollen sich zum Eintritt für die Götter auftun...".

Sāyaṇa glosses *prayai* with '*prayātum*' and his grammatical explanation of the oxytonic word—*A* 3, 1, 3 allowing the accent to rest with the initial syllable of the suffix—runs thus : *prayai...avyathiṣyai* (*A* 3,4,10) *iti nipātitaḥ*

The oxytonic infinitive also occurs in *ṚV* 10, 104, 3 b :

pryái sutá sya haryaśva tú bhyam:

"I offer to you (*pra iyarmi*) whom bay steeds carry, the powerful (*ugrām*) drink (of pressed Soma) to make you start".

This line is repeated in *AV* 20, 25, 7; 33,2 b. In view of the facts mentioned above, one might hypothesize that P. has drawn *praya* obviously from the *Ṛgveda*.

2... Let us now focus our attention on the other *nipātana*-s, *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai*. These words are formed with *iṣyai according to *K*., and it is expressed in the following terms :

> *ruheḥ iṣyai-pratyayaḥ*—"*apām*
> *oṣadhīnāṁ* rohiṣyai"—, *rohaṇāya*
> *vyather nañ-pūrvasya iṣyai-pratyayaḥ*—
> *avyathiṣyai, avyathanāya*

• The Vṛttikāra, in all probability, might have drawn the Vedic citation (*apām...rohiṣyai*) from *TS* 1, 3, 10, 2. Bhaṭṭoji glosses *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai* with '*rodhum*' and '*avyathitum*' respectively (*SK* 3437). Both the words occur in a single prose passage at *KS* 3, 7, and the text—with its accents reconstructed by me—runs as follows :

> *agní s tvā śrīnātu...vā́ tasya tvā*
> *dhrā́ jyai pūṣṇo rámhyā ūṣmáṇo' vyathiṣyā*
> *apā́ m ó ṣadhīnāṁ ró hiṣyai, KKS 2, 14)*

While *avyathiṣyai* is attested only in the Kāṭhaka passage cited above, the collocation : *apā́ m ó ṣadhīnāṁ rohiṣyai*, occurs in *TS* 1, 3, 10, 2 (=*KS* 3, 7=*KKS* 2, 14). The Kāṭhaka passage may be compared to the corresponding citations occuring in other *Yajurveda* texts, which are as follows :

> *TS 1, 3, 10, 2* : *vā́ tasya tvā dhrajyaí pūṣṇó*
> *rámhyā apā́ m ó ṣadhīnāṁ ró hiṣyai/*
> *Mais 1, 2, 17* : *vā́ tasya tvā dhrā́ jyai pūṣṇó*
> *rámhyā ūṣmā́ ṇo' vyathise' pā́ m ó ṣadhīnāṁ rásaḥ/*
> *MS 6, 18* : *vā́ tasya tvā dhrā́ jyai pūṣṇó rámhyā*
> *ūṣmáṇo vyatiṣat práyutaṁ dvéṣaḥ/*
> *SB 3, 8, 3, 21* : *vā́ tasya tvā dhrā́ jyā iti/ ..*
> *pūṣṇo rámhyā iti/(22). ūṣmáṇo vyathiṣad iti/(23).*

It emerges from these citations that *avyathiṣyai* is attested only in *KS*, while *rohiṣyai* can be traced to *TS* quoted above. Concomitantly a Pāṇinist *cum* Vedist is led to believe that P. might have drawn *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai* from *KS* 3, 7. Needless to say, these infinitival words in -iṣyai have not escaped the attention of the eagle-eyed P. whose intimate acquaintance with the Kāṭhaka School; can be proved to the hilt. That the Kāṭhaka (besides the Kālāpaka) which was taught from village to village on account of its popularity was a well-established text at the time of Pat., is known from his statement: *grāme grāme kāṭhakaṁ kālāpakaṁ ca procyate...*/ (*VMB* II. 315. II *ad A* 4, 3, 101). Renou admits of the fact that "la science des textes Kaṭha est remarquable chez Pāṇini" (*JA* 228.338, Paris, 1936). Schroeder (*ZDMG* 33.194 ff). and Thieme (*Pāṇini and the Veda*, n. 1, p. 63, Allahabad, 1935) have shown P.'s intimate acquiantance with this School—the latter holding the view that *KS* is the most important of the three Kaṭha Schools, which has been drawn upon by P.

3...The accentuation of these two iṣyai-words offers a puzzle to Pāṇinists and Vedists. If iṣyai were the suffix with which these infinitives are formed, the accent will fall on the initial suffixal syllable in accord with *A* 3, 1, 3, (in the case of *rohiṣyai*) and *A* 6, 2, 139 (in the case of *avyathiṣyai*). Consequently both the iṣyai-words will be treated as paroxytonic. But *KS* 3, 7 has barytonised these infinitives.

In the case of *avyathiṣyai*, a Pāṇinist can resort to *A* 6, 2, 2 and the *vt....saha-nirdiṣṭasya ca* (no. 16 *ad A* 6, 1, 158; (no. 16 *ad A* 6, 1, 158; *VMB* III. 101)- in an attempt to justify the *nañ-svara* which pulls down the *kṛt-svara* taught in *A* 6,2, 139. Pat. cites *avyathin-*(*a – vyath + in* I by *A* 3, 2, 157) as a typical example in which the accent falls on the negative particle in conformity with the *vt.* : *avyaye nañ-ku-nipātanānām* (No. 3. *ad A* 6, 2, 2 ; *VMB* III. 123) which overrides the subsequent rule (*A* 6, 2, 139 which preserves the original suffixal accent taught in *A* 3, 1, 3). Correspondingly *ávyathiṣyai* can be considered as belonging to the barytonic class of kṛt-words in which the negative particle is accented. This is further supported by the fact that *KS* 35, 10 (=*KKS* 48, 12) has preserved the barytonic accentuation of *āvyathyai*, and the text reads:

á riṣṭyā a vyathyai saṁveśāya gāyatṛyaí chá ndase' bhibhú ve svā́ hā

Thus the barytonic accentuation of *á vyathiṣyai* can be explained in the light of P.'s rules. Yet P. treats the word as a *nipātan* , since *iṣyai is not included in the list of infinitival suffixes enumerated by P. in *A* 3, 4, 9.

With regard to *rohiṣyai*, the case is different. The *Saṁhitā* texts have treated it as a barytone. In order that the barytonesis may be justified, Vishwa Bandhu (*VPK*, *Saṁhitas*, 2683) reads the suffix *iṣyai N, since the exponent]'*N* added to the final position of the suffix will make the accent rest with the initial syllable of the word through the force of *A* 6 1, 197. Nevertheless Bhaṭṭabhāskara (*ad TS* 1,3, 10,2, Mysore edn., I.330) glosses the word with '*rohaṇāya, utpattaye*', and simply treats *ró hiṣyai* as a *nipātana* word relying on *A* 3, 4, 10 for this support. We may now get out of the problem by accepting the verdict of Pāṇinīya-s that the word is formed with *-iṣyai and its barytonesis could be explained on the ground of P. 's tool of *nipātana*.

4. The problem posed here furnishes us with the following criteria governing the applicability of *A* 3, 4, 10 to Vedic facts :

(i) P. draws the oxytonic *prayaí* from *ṚV*, which is taught as a *nipātana* owing to the exclusion of Kai in the list of the infinitival suffixes enumerated by P. in *A* 3, 4, 9;

(ii) P. might have drawn both *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai* from *KS* 3, 7—a text with which P. 's intimate acquiantance has already been proved to the hilt. The barytonic *avyathiṣyai* could be justified in the light of *A* 6, 2, 2 and the *vt.* (16) to *A* 6, 1, 158, while the barytonic accentuation of *rohiṣyai* may be explained in the light of P. 's tool of *nipātana*. The characteristic omission of *—*iṣyai* in *A* 3, 4, 9 provides the ground for treating these Vedic infinitives as *nipātana* words; and

(iii) The *Nipātana* may be regarded as one of the potent tools utilised by P. for explaining some of the anomalous Vedisms.

ABBREVIATIONS

(i) *A*......*Aṣṭādhyāyī*
P..... *Pāṇini*
Pat...*Patañjali*
Vt....*Vārttikam*

(ii) *ṚV* . *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, Poona, 1933-51
TS ...*Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, Mysore, 1894-8
Mais..*Maitrāyaṇiya-Sāṁhitā*, Leipzig, 1923
KS.,...*Kāṭhaka-Sāṁhitā*, Leipzig, 1900
KKS..*Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā*, Lahore, 1932
MS . ..*Mādhyandina* (*Śukla-Yajurveda*) *Saṁhitā*, Bombay, 1912
AV.....*Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā* (*Śaunaka*), Hoshiarpur, 1962
ŚB.....*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (*Mādhyandina*,) Varanasi, 1964
VPK...*Vaidika-padānukrama-Koṣa* (Saṁhitās), Hoshiarpur, 1942-63

(iii) *K*......*Kāśikā* (with *Nyāsa* & *Padamañjarī*), Varanasi, 1965-7
SK.....*Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, Varanasi, 1960-1
VMB..*Vyakaraṇa-Mahābhāṣyam* (Ed. Kielhorn) Poona, 1962-5

SŪTRA REFERENCES

A 1, 3, 8.... लशक्वतद्धिते ।
1, 3, 9...... तस्य लोपः ।
3, 1, 3... ... आद्युदात्तश्च ।
3, 2, 157 .. जि•••अव्यय···प्रसूभ्यश्च [3, 2, 156 प्रजोरिनिः]
3, 4, 6 ... .. छन्दसि लुङ् लङ् लिटः ।
3, 4, 9 ... ... तुमर्थे से सेनसे...तवेनः ।
6, 1, 158 ... अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ।
6, 1, 197 ... ञ् नित्यादिर्नित्यम् ।
6, 2, 2 ... ... तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थ•••अव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ।
6, 2, 139 ... गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत ।
6, 4, 64 ... ... आतो लोप इटि च ।

Buddhism—Its rise, and development

by

ARUNA HALDAR

Introduction :

We should remember while discussing about Buddhism that its flame was nearly extinguished in India, its place of birth, about 1000 A. D., and it was as if rediscovered by some European and Indian scholars during the past 100 years. Surprisingly, most of the Buddhist texts, if not all, were found outside India. Buddhism only remained, and is still to be found in practice, in Chittagong and Nepal. Most of the Pali Texts were found in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand and other countries of South East Asia. Most of its Sanskrit Texts were found retained in Sanskrit or in translations into the indegenous languages of those countries wherever they had been found, e. g. in Tibet, China, Mongolia, Khotan, Japan, Korea and others. Many of these translations were completed by the 10th century A. D. Indian and local scholars had then participated in the translation work with equal zeal. The great Chinese scholar and devotee Hsuentsang himself had translated some 150 Texts. Modern scholars transliterated the translated texts into their restored forms which are very close to the originals. Many such work is being carried on in India and abroad at present.

Buddhism appears to be the third major religion practised in India. There are different local variations which rose out of its main branches. Later developments of Buddhism left great impact on Indian culture and literature, religious sects and thought movements. Ideas similar to Buddhistic ones are found in the obsolete religious cults like Natha-panth, Siddha Yogis, and Aul, Baul, Sāin, Darbesh etc. The Texts like Dohākosā and Caryāpada indicate ample illustrations to establish that. The last two texts were found in Tibet and Nepal respectively. Again, Buddhism left its impact also on Hinduism itself. Buddha, thus, was accepted as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu and many of the shrines of Buddhistic origin were later converted into those of Hinduism. Many places of Buddhistic importance became the centres for Hindu mode of worship.

After a careful analysis it may be further observed that Buddhism also partially left some vestiges in the different religious orders which developed in Eastern European and Western Asiatic countries. Buddhism may be found of course in much modified form in Lamaism of Tibet and Mongolia, in Buryat Buddhism on the border of Siberia and Mongolia. It influenced indirectly Sammanism in Siberia and Manichism in South West Asia and old Coptie Church of North East Africa. (according to Eliot) Many common materials may be found in Buddhistic and Catholic churches, particularly in Vinaya and Catholic Canons. The Christian monastic churches of older times, the building of the churches on some relics, the shrines, the cave dwellings, (Catacombs) architectural designs, piety and asceticism, confession and sermons all remind us of Buddhist churches and practices. These last named items might have been inherited by Christianity as legacy from the order of old Essenes or Cave dwelling saints of pre-Christian Judaic faith; but the orders of Essenes as such might have some relationship with older Buddhist church as well although the view is controversial. For this Buddhists developed some 7 schools practising in China; and some 10 schools developed also in Japan in due course.

The Buddhistic spirit of positivism and reason dialectic approach and theory of impermanence also left some indirect influence on European thought movements. About a century and a half after Buddha Socrates preached common sense and ethics in Greece. A little while after Alexander's invasion of India, North West India came to be ruled by the Greeks, particularly, by the Bactrian Greeks. Dharmakirti's dialectical logic might have gone out from India to Greece; the Greeks naturally had numerous sources of contact. Most of the pre-and post-Hegelian thinkers, if not all, appear to be indirectly indebted to Buddhist logic and metaphysics. Thus, we see that Kant's Thing-in-itself and Buddhist idea of Tathatā or Svalakṣaṇa are very much alike. Kant's transcendental school of idealism reminds us of Yogacara Vijñānavāda, according to which 'object' is also a creation of mind. Hegel's dialectical approach to metaphysical reality is more understandable when estimated from Kantian point of view. Again, amongst the pre-Kantian thinkers Hume's approach corresponds to earlier schools of Buddhism to a great extent. Later, Schopenhauer expounded his theory of sorrow or suffering and Freud wanted to find out a path of solution for existence which is nothing but suffering. Freud tried to find the solution in total extinction and called it death-wish (of principle of Nirvāna) Could all these, we ask, be the distant reminiscence of Buddhism !

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the 'Individual' was

recognised as such in Renaissance Europe only; but Buddhism had given recognition to the 'individual' (Pudgala) and his efforts with regard to rationality (Prajña or pure reason), virtue (Kuśala) and evil (Kuśala) and his liberation from Moha (attachment or bewilderment). Personality, according to the Buddhists, is based on the three postulates which are universally agreed upon by all their schools. These three postulates are Anityatā or basic impermanence, Anātmatā or basic non-existence of any soul and, finally, Aniśwaratā or non-existence of any causal agency of God. In addition, the Buddhists very rationally tried to understand the phenomenal reality from the points of view of Āyurveda, the then prevailing medical science and Yoga practices. Thus, existence is compared to Vyādhi or disease; As a phenomena, the existence has been caused by dependent origination or Puratītya samutpāda; and that is the diagnosis or Nidāna of a disease; Thus it is like *ex nihilo nihil fit*; or nothing is uncaused. If anything is caused, then by un-causing the cause, the phenomena may be stopped or destroyed; this is known as Nirodha. Lastly, the method or means of that destruction may be known as way or Mārga. This rational exposition of the phenomenal world and stopping that impermanent process attracted the rational minds of Europe in modern times. As in scientific atheism, so in Buddhism there is an emphasis on observing silence on speculative philosophy. All these, together with the ideas of profound humanism as expressed in Maitri (Friendliness) Muditā (Contentment) Karunā (Compassion) and Upeksā (detachment) mark out Buddhism. Buddhism is still found to be a fountain-head for the world thought to day; and although direct tradition has been dead in India, India cannot ignore it now.

Historical observations :

Historically, we place Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, in the 6th century B. C. The date provisionally has been fixed as 563 B. C. 534 B. C. is the year when he became the Buddha or the 'Enlightened One'. He attained nirvāṇa in 483 B. C. in Kushīnagar in U. P. At the foot hills of the Himalayas there were some tribal States known as belonging to the Śakyas. Who these Śākyas were, we do not know. It is difficult to trace their origin to some Tibeto Mongoloid people or to some central Asian tribes or to the Śakās. Although having tribal features, the people here had developed tribal democracy. Buddha himself used to recognise Mahabira, the founder of Jainistic relativism, as his kinsman or Jñatiputra; he held the Vrji Licchavis with esteem; after his death the Koliyas and the Mallas were also given a share of the remains of his body ;

Buddha was born as an heir-apparent to a Chieftain of Śākya clan of Kapilāvāstu. His origin as a Vedic Kṣatriya was doubtful. On the contrary his environment at home and abroad helped him to become what he was—an anti-Vedic but enlightened thinker. His sensitive nature made him aware of the sufferings of humanity at large, and he was determined to find out a path to exterminate that suffering.

So far as the social conditions were concerned, the Vedic people did not care much for a life of retirement. The institution of Vedic Varṇāśrama became rigid and firmly established at a much later date after the Vedic people were settled down in India and wanted to safe-guard their interest and social stability. We then find the expressions like Āraṇyaka and Yati in use. In some of the Upanisads like Muṇḍaka, Śwetāśwatara and Maitrī the words Parivrajakas, Muṇḍaka and Bhaikṣa occur. According to Pali traditions we get more terms with similar meaning e. g. Tirthikas, Kṣapaṇakas, Ājīvikas, Nagnakas and Avadhūtas (the last term is found in Dohakośa and Caryāpada); There were other heretics and wandering monks who were all against the Vedic traditions of Yajña and Karmakanda. We come to know about six much important schools at the time when Buddha lived and preached. These schools along with their very interesting veiw-points are being given below :—

(1) Akriyavāda or doctrine of inaction as expounded by Pūrṇa Kāśyapa.

(2) Neo Ājīvika doctrine of Maskarin Gosāla.

(3) Ajñānavāda or Agnosticism as formulated by Sanjaya Vairātiputra.

(4) Saptabhanginaya and Pluralistic Relativism of Nirgrantha Jñātiputra or Mahāvīra.

(5) Ucchedavāda or Nihilism of Ajita Keśakambaliñ

(6) Śāśwatavāda or Eternalism of Prakrudha Kātyāyana.

Each of the above mentioned schools had gathered followers, and acted as institution. Buddha, after leaving his kingdom first remained with Ārāḍha Kālāma of Vaiśālī for some time, next leaving him, he got himself affiliated to another school run by Rudraka Rāmaputra of Rājagṛha. He practised there austerities as an ascetic; but none of the teachers could satisfy him. So, he, out of his own efforts in the quest became enlightened at Bodha Gayā. He preached there his concept of Madhyamā Pratipad or middle path, and taught his disciples the principle of practical ethics as based on psychological analysis. Madhyamā Pratipad meant avoiding the two extremes of luxury and privation equally strongly.

He mostly preached in Magadha and U. P. Later, one Monk from Sañjaya's school Aśvajit joined his order with hundreds of followers. Gradually he gathered thousands of disciples including both Bhikṣus (retired) and Upāsakas (Lay devotee). He taught in all probability in some kind of Eastern Indian Prāktṛa. He secured royal patronage for his order and used to take interest in politics of the time although with a neutral outlook. He did not leave any direct record of what he taught.

Buddha was the pioneer in establishing the Monastic order or a regular Buddhist Church which was his main contribution to ancient Indian socio-political organisation. He was a staunch disciplinarian within the order. It has to be emphasized that he was only incidentally a social reformer and mainly a recluse. He did not as already noted, encourage any speculative spirit of philosophy and remained silent on discussions held on God, Soul or Permanent Substances. His ideas directly clashed with the ideas as could be found in the Upanisads and orthodox systems like Sāmkhya, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. He forwarded a set of antinomies with regard to the possibility and impossibility of the reality of God, Soul and Permanence of the phenomenal world. The antinomies would remind us of Kant who came at a much later time; but unlike Kant, he remained silent about affirming or denying either of the two possibilities as Visuddhi magga would indicate. From this silence he observed there emerged at a later date several interpretations;. Different sects of Buddhism sprang up out of those interpretations each claiming authenticity of what they held as the 'Sayings of the Master.' All these subsects of the time again could be placed under two main divisions; and all of them accepted the 3 postulates discussed earlier. All of them also abided by 3 main gems i. e. Buddha, Dharma (or ethical discipline or Vinaya) and Saṃgha (or Church) which are the initial objects of the faith to start with. Buddha had introduced self criticism, confession, discussion and other democratic ways of tolerance within the Saṃgha or the Church. He held that strict ethical principles would be observed within the Church and nothing should go against solidarity of the Church. He went to the extreme and held that any spirit of split or dissension within the Church was a grave sin and heinous crime.

Buddha himself stressed on hard working and asked the monks to be spiritually alert. He did not believe in caste system. He died at Kuśinagar after enjoying hospitality offered by Chunda, a caṇḍāla by birth. He was offered Śukara Bhojya for food. The interpretation of the term is open to different opinions. According to some, Buddha was offered pork actually and he could not digest the food at that ripe old age. The others think that he was given (Mushroom) food of the Śukara

or survive and not the treat of Śukara (Pork). However it was also a natural difficulty for an old man like Buddha to have digested Mushroom which might also act as poison.

The Ist Council :

We know from the texts that one monk Subhadra felt very happy after the death of the Master and felt relieved so that nobody would be a hard task master like Buddha in the order. Within a few months of his death, the senior disciples apprehended a split within the Saṃgha. Therefore some lifelong companions of the Master came forward to nip the dissension in the bud and called a convention at Rājagṛha. The assemblage continued for a period of seven months within which the monks made an effort to reach an agreement with regard to the authenticity of what Buddha had preached and taught. Also they wanted to keep the solidarity of the Saṃgha in tact. Then Ānanda and Upāli recited from memory whatever they heard from the Master. Mahākāshyapa remained the investigator. Ānanda's version came to be known as Sūtra and that of Upāli became known as Vinaya. This first Buddhist Council held at Rājagṛha had been recognised as the Sūtra-Vinaya Saṃgrāhinī Sabhā. We learn from the texts that the views were not agreed upon in toto. Some important disciples like Pūrna and Gavāṃpati, both from South India, remained aloof and the latter even did not participate in the proceedings.

The Second Council :

The above mentioned spirit of split remained dormant within the Saṃgha during the next one hundred years. And, then another Council was called. This second council was held at Vaishālī or modern Muzaffarpur. Here the split or dissension could not be avoided although some democratic agreement was sought for. The Eastern Monks headed by an intelligent and scholarly monk, Mahādeva by name, clashed directly with the Western or the more orthodox monks. Evidently these orthodox monks were more powerful and they got the Easterners excommunicated from the original order. The rebels and the radicals came out and held their own council at Pataliputra. Henceforward these radicals became recognised as the Mahā-Sāṃghikas and the conservatives were known as the Sthaviras. According to the texts of Cullabagga and Asokāvadāna the Mahāsāṃghikas had spread themselves all over the South and South-West of India and later had travelled as far as Khotan, Afghanistan and China about the first century B. C. Sthaviravāda was established also by that time, and may be, still found in Chittagong,

Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Vietnam and Korea. Even now, Ceylon is specially known as a centre for the study of the Sutras, Siam as a centre for the study of the Vinayas and Burma is known as a centre for the study of the Abhidharmas which had developed at about 243 B. C.

Some scholars including Dr. P. C. Bagchi are of opinion that Mahāyāna developed out of some of the Mahāsāṃghika schools (like LOKOTTARAVĀDA.) The view however is controversial. Dr. N. Dutt on the other hand is of opinion that the two spirits, Hīnayāna (earlier Sects) and Mahāyāna (later Sect) remained side by side from the time of the Buddha himself. Dr. N. Dutt made it clear in his last book written before his death (27.11.73) that Buddha's affiliation was with Mahāyāna spirit mainly. (Vide Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna). This possibility is further corroborated by the facts noted down by the monk Fa Hsien about what he saw on his way while coming to and going back from India. According to him Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna orders remained side by side there in peacefull co-existence. We come to know about the Vasubandhu family of Puruṣapura or Taxila. The eldest brother Asaṃga was a Mahāyānī scholar and happened to be the author of the well-known Yogācara Vijñānavāda text of Yogācāra Bhumi. The second brother was at first a Hīnāyānī, and, happened to be the author of Abhidharmakośa and its Bhāṣya, an important text which was read equally carefully by the Monks of the two different orders. The second, Vasubandhu later became influenced by his brother Asaṃga and adopted Mahāyāna, and, as such, wrote many Mahāyāna texts like Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, Mahāyānaviṃśikā and Mahāyānatripṃśika and many others. According to the texts and traditions of Kathāvastu, Bhikṣuvārṣāgraparipṛcchā and Aṭṭhakathā, some 18 (or, 24 according to others) schools emerged out of the two main orders as we have mentioned before.

Emperor Aśoka and the Third Council :

Another couple of hundred years rolled on and there was a felt need for holding another council for the third time. The assemblage was held,in Pāṭaliputra about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. under the presidentship of one Tiṣya either a son of a brother of Emperor Aśoka according to two different traditions; Emperor Aśoka was himself a patron of Buddhism. Emperor Aśoka sent the emissaries far and wide to preach Buddhist teachings to the peoples of distant lands he knew at that time. The Missionaries went to all over India, Afghanistan, Asia minor, Central Asia and went even up to Alexandria. Various archaeological evidences based on excavated relics prove the existence of

Buddhist monasteries which were once to be found all over the trade routes lying below and above Mongolia Tibet and Nepal. We come to know that his son, then Governor of Malwa-Gujarat was sent to Ceylon. He carried along with him all the extant versions of Buddha's teachings which he got translated into the language of Malva-Gujarat recognised later as Pali—a mixture of Śaurasenī and Ardha Māgadhī Prākṛtas Aśokan inscriptions were all carved in the prevailing regional languages and in some form of Brāhmī Script. These inscriptions are of immense value for Buddhism and for the study of Indian linguistics also. For, we get the clear materials for the four different zonal variants of Prākṛta from these inscriptions only. So far some 36 inscriptions including those found in Afghanistan were obtained. In addition one more has been discovered in Asia minor some 20 years ago. The language of the text is in some kind of North-Western Prākṛta and the inscription is found written in old Greek and old Ārāmaic characters, (vide the Presidential address Asiatic Society 1958 by Dr. N. Dutt)[1]

We have noted before that some 18 Nikāyas or 24 Nikāyas had emerged out of two main orders. Now it was felt necessary to compare and compile all of them. The importance of the 3rd council specially was recognised in assembling many, if not all, of those extant schools. Each school participated in the discussion; all the different interpretations were carefully analysed, discussed and agreed upon. All these philosophical matters were later entered in Kathavastu. These philosophical materials later constituted the Abhidharma literature.

After Aśoka's death Buddhism began to lose state patronage and gradually receded towards West of India more and more. Thus, Mathurā became a centre for sometimes and Gāndhāra and Kashmir also became the centres at a still later age. Abhidharma literature flourished more and more and a particular Sarvāstivāda became recognised as an important one. Accordingly there developed different schools of sarvāstivāda viz; Mathura Sarvāstivāda Mūlasarvāstivāda or Kashmere Sarvāstivāda and so on. The last two schools agreed to disclaim Māthura Sarvāstivāda openly; following the sequel, the fourth council was held in the 1st centruy A. D. (According to another tradition it was held in 1st Century B. C.).

Emperor Kaṇiṣka & the Fourth Council :

Emperor Kaṇiṣka was also a follower of Buddhism and his capital was in Puruṣapur or modern Taxila. The fourth council was held there at Puruṣapur under the patronage of the Chief Monk Sthavria

1. One more Rock Edict in Madhyapradeśa has just been reported. Ed.

Vasumitra. The well-known poet Aśvaghoṣa participated in the council. Here only Mūla sarvāstivāda or Kashmere Sarvāstivāda school was given a special recognition. In order to settle the other schools the great commentaries or the Vibhāsās were written and discussed, (e. g. Mahāvibhāsā Vinaya Vibhāsā and Abhidharma Vibhāsā). Hence forward, the followers of the Vibhāṣā or the Commentaries became recognised as the Vaibhāṣikas. A scholarly interpretation was written on Abhidharma Vibhāṣā known as Jñāna-Prasthāna. At a still later age, at about the fifth century A. D., Vasubandhu the great scholar and devotee had written his famous text Abhidharma Kośa Kārikā and its Bhāṣya. He was a resident of Ayodhyā and enjoyed the patronage of the later Gupta kings like Narasiṃha Gupta Balāditya and his brother-in-law Vasurāta, the Grammarian. Vasubandhu was a contemporary of the famous Sāṃkhya scholar Vindhya-Vāsa. Vasubandhu's Abhidharma-kośa Karika was written mostly from the point of view of the Vaibhāṣika Sarvāstivāda school of Kashmere. Although Vasubandhu was at first a believer in Sautrantika doctrine and later had become a believer in Mahāyāna Vijñānavāda school, he made a sincere effort to expound the view-point of the Kashmere Vaibhāṣikas correctly. He refers to the textual controversies raised by the scholarly monk Sanghabhadra who was a staunch follower of the Vaibhāṣika School. Most of the scholars by that time had taken to writing in Sanskrit; and, Sanskrit Buddhist literature began to travel further all over Asia minor, Eastern European Countries like Uzbekistan in the West and Mangolia, Tibet, China and Japan in the East. (Vide reports on the exacavation of Termez in Uzbekistan U. S. S. R.)

Impact of Buddhism on Indian Life.

The Bacterian Greeks already had settled down in the Gāndhāra region from the time of Alexander's conquest of Western India. Mathurā was a seat of Śaka Kuṣāṇa culture. Gāndhāra school of Art had developed in North West India in addition to that of Śaka Kuṣāṇa style of Mathurā. The images of Buddha, the holy shrines, the stupas, the caityas, the vihāras were erected in plenty. Most of them were erected and maintained by the Kings or the public spirited tradesmen. Besides, the Monks from China and Indian visited respectively India and China with missionary spirit and due to that contact many cultural items like mixed style of Art, Painting and ideas were exchanged between the two great countries. Some of the murals of Ajanta in India and Tung Huan Cave in Tainkiang will prove that what has been said before. Some excavations were made near Termez, a village in Uzbekistan and a big

monastery has been un-earthed there. The findings like lamps, lamp-stand, teacher's seat, Dharma cakra may be traced to 8th century A. D. The most interesting finds are found in the part of the Buddha's hand and the Dharmāsana or the Lotus Seat of the Holy one and a portion of the wall whereon the mantra to be repeated is found written in two characters viz, Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. All these items are preserved in Hermitage or the famous Museum housed in the Winter Palace in Leningrad. The last item appears to signify that the monastery received monks from various different places and speaking different languages using different scripts also. The heyday for the Northern Buddhism reached its height during the period between the 4th century A. D. and the 8th century A. D. Afterwards śaivism developed in Kashmere. It is curious to note that this particular Tantra school of Kashmere śaivism bears a strong influence of Buddhism on its philosophical basis and ideas. (Eg. Prajnā Vimarśa Amarśa, Sakala, Akala etc.). Incidentally, it may be mentioned hare that a faint impact of Buddhism through Kashmere Śaivism reached our time in the thoughts of Śri Aurovinda and Professor K. C. Bhattacharya, of course in a modified form.

Besides Buddhism remained the most important religion of whole of India for some time. South India itself was mainly a Buddhist land from where Buddhism had travelled to Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, Indo-China and Korea both by land and sea routes. In Chittagong there was a big centre from where possible landroutes went to Burma, Combodia and Indo-China (modern Vietnam). Following the land-routes there went the Buddhist Missionaries also. We come to know that Buddhism went to Indo-China by the 1st. century A. D. (vide proceedings of the History Congress, 1974, article by Mr. Lam Troung Quoe). There existed Suvarṇapurī Vihāra near Sundarvan and Vasirhat which possibly received the foreign monks from China and Tibet. A Tantra school developed there also known as Cīnācāra. Everywhere a local colouring was being introduced. This new processing did not only change the Buddhist philosophy partially but also modified the Buddhist art.

So far as scholarship was concerned, Buddhistic literature grew in quality and bulk as well. Most of the scholars came from the original Brahmanical tradition with intellectual sharpness and wide learning. After being ordained as monks they applied their mind to the constructing of Buddhistic logic and contradicting the Naiyāyika position in main. It may be pointed out here that logic is the only weapon which cuts and paves the way for Metaphysics. The success of the Buddhist logic was so wonderful, that, later almost all the orthodox systems rose as one against Buddhism and as a result the flame of Buddhism became

literally extinguished in the land of its birth. So far Ethics was concerned Yoga ethics formed a common bond between the two opponents. The different philosophical view points were read, analysed and discussed in the great monastic Universities like Nālandā, Vikramśilā and Taxila which received scholars and monks from all over the Buddhistic world. Nālandā University produced a galaxy of scholars like Śīlabhadra, Dīpankara-Śrījñana-Atiśa, Dharmakīrti Kamalaśila, Śāntarakṣita and others. The well known scholar monk Hsuentsang also studied here in order to achieve the fulfilment of his missionary ideals.

After the 8th century A. D., the intellectual glory of Buddhism somehow began to fade away in India. Although no clear evidence can be produced, it is seen that most of the places of Buddhistic importance were being gradually changed into and replaced by the important centres of the different cults and sects of Hinduism. That is how Orissa temples including the one in Purī, South Indian temples with big Gopuraṃ and the temples of Mathurā and Vṛndāvana became sacred places for the Hindu pilgrims. The Buddha himself became recognised as one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu. Many new Hindu cults together with the sects and the sub-sects came into existence as a result of the development of synthetic Hinduism and following the spirit of Śrīmadbhagavadgītā. The liberal spirit of Śrīmadbhagvadgitā already had established that the rigidity of Varṇāśrama could be relaxed. Many new Gods and female deities were being introduced into Hinduism after changing partially, or sometimes, even fully their Buddhistic characters. After the 8th century, A. D. onwards, Spirit of Buddhism itself underwent a big change; it had gone over to China and Tibet and had come back then to India with many qualitative changes. Thus many new Gods and female deities (like Kāla, Kāli Tārā etc.) were first borrowed from Tibet-Chinese Pantheon and then were regularly introduced within Hinduism. Vestiges of this Tantric Buddhism became recognised as Vajrayāna, Mantrayāna, Sahaja Yāna, Kālacakrayāna, and, then these became a source of peculiar and liberal theory and practice being merged in the indigenous schools of obsolete cults of India. We have got some of the extant forms of them in the sects and sub-sects of Āul, Bāul, Śain Swamī or Kartābhajā, Nāthapanth, Gorakhyogī, Kanphat Yogī, Avadhūta Yogī, Siddhās, Yogis, and many others. Many local Gods like 'Dharma' as we have it in Bengal came into existence. The images of the Buddha became mostly known as those of Viṣṇu or Surya or even Śiva-Bhairava. References are often made to some of these sects and their practices in Caryāpadas (the earliest Bengali specimen language and literature discovered in Nepal Darvar and edited by the famous scholar Haraprasād Śāstrī) and Dohākośa of Sarahapāda or Saroja Vajra

(author of one of the earliest specimens of Eastern Māgadhān language and literature discovered in Tibet by Pandita Rāhula Saṃkṛtyāyaṇa). The materials obtained therein furnish us with the psycho-sociological conditions and socio-economic back-ground of the people of that time. It may be incidentally mentioned here that many of these sects remain even now without any particular affiliation and are known as wandering monks roaming all over India; but most of them, the Sahajiyas, were converted into Vaiṣṇavism and brought under Hinduism in the 16th century by Vīrabhadra Prabhu, the son of Nityānanda Prabhu, formerly a practising Avadhūta himself and a staunch follower of Śrīman Mahāprabhu or Caitanyadeva of Bengal.

Analysed dialectically, we are also in a position to make a few observations about the simultaneous processes of lending and borrowing between the two rival schools of Philosophy, Buddhism and Hinduism. Many modern scholars like Professor Dr. S. Radhakrisnan and Dr. S. Mukhopādhyāya are of opinion that Buddhist thought is nothing but a new branch of Hinduism; the Buddhist scholars on the other hand hold a completely different view. We have already mentioned in the introduction that the mode of clear thinking was found as a common heritage in the writing of the Buddhist and the Hindu scholars; and, that might have been borne to Europe at a later date and influenced only indirectly the later development of the age of reason, the finest fruit achieved in Post-renaissance Europe. However, the last point is disputable. For dialecties and reason also had developed much earlier in Europe and that may be traced to the date of Socrates and therefore may be considered as a natural result of Scientific thinking.

Besides influencing the scholarly and religious traditions, Buddhistic metaphysics also left various effects and impacts on the metaphysics of some of the important orthodox systems. This, however is partially due to the common heritage of older Saṃkhya metaphysics inherited equally by the Buddhists and the Vedantists (mainly by Śaṃkarācārya.) The hypothism of Ālaya Vijñāna as expounded by the Yogācāra Vijñanavāda school and that of Brahma or Pāramārthika reality as expounded by Śaṇkarācārya are very similar in spirit; again the concept of Nirguṇa Brahma and that of Dharmaśūnyatā appear to be very much alike; the futility of vyavahārika reality and paramārthasūnyatā of the Mādhyamika school do not appear much different from one another when carefully analysed. Even in many cases the terms, like Rāja Sāpa (Rajju Sarpa) Gandhabha Nairi (Gandharvanagarī), Bālua Tela (Bālukā Taila) occur in the Caryāpadas; these indicate the common

heritage of the analogies to be found alike in Buddhism and Śaṃkarāvedānta.

Scientific Study in Buddhism :

Scientific study of Buddhism, or, in a sense, rediscovery of Buddhism in its own mother-land began its history nearly hundred and twenty-five years ago. This re-descovery was helped by the reading of the Aśokan Script by Princep (1835), reconstruction of the old forgotten manuscripts, deciphering the textual contents, excavations of the forgotten sites like the Stupas, Caityas and the monasteries buried under the layers of the earth (e. g. Nālandā, Sānci and other places like Bharhut, Amaravati, Kāḍla etc.) revealing the cave temples and their age determination and by revaluation of the images, Mural painting and Sculptures with the help of modern devices. The names which are associated with this difficult tasks are many and cannot be enumerated here in details. Only the prominent names are given like Kern and Burnouf (who are the pioneers in the field of re-discovering Buddhism), Princep, Cunningham, Oldenburgh, Hara Prasad Śastri, Satiśa Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa (of Buddhist Logic fame), Raja Rajendralal Mitra who renovated the Bodh Gaya temple lying in a crumbled heap. The temple was under the supervision of Hindu Mahanta afiliated to Śaiva cult. Raja Rajendralal Mitra reconstructed the temple using the same materials and following the same model which was found within the crumbled heap itself; later came Stcherbatskoy; Mr. and Mrs. Physdavida started their work mainly in Ceylon following the tradition of Pali or Southern Buddhism; then came Louis De La Valleé Poussin, Takakusu, Anesaki, Kimura and Suzuki (the last four of Japanese tradition); those who followed are Sylvain Levy, P. C. Bagchi, Vidhu Śekhara Śāstrī, Professor Tucci and his Rome oriental institution, Wogihara (of Taisho-tradition) Dr. N. Dutta (a direct disciple of Louis De La Valleé Poussin) and Valdesmidt (of Gottingen Univ. and one of the editors of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit dictionary) and many others. Sister Nivedita and Ravindranath Tagore had great interest in Buddhist art and Buddhistic studies respectively. Many new Buddhist centres are coming up today in India and abroad. These are of great help for the young scholars of Buddhism at present. Practically Buddhism did not and cannot die through the ages. The rational attitude and humanistic outlook which are inherent in Buddhism will keep it alive as a lighthouse for ages to come. The great master left his message to bring ashore the humanity at large from going astray.

Conclusion :— In conclusion, it is worth mentioning that 2 more Buddhist Councils had taken place in Ceylon long after the 4th Council.

One more had taken place in Bodh Gaya in 1956 after the 2500 years of the Buddha's birth. The last council so far was held in Rangoon in 1960. This last one has got its own special and historical significance. It is in this last council the Buddhists from the different parts of the world had assembled and discussed the possibility of unifying the two main orders, Hinayāna and Mahāyana. The two orders branched off long long ago at the time of the 2nd Buddhist Council following one hundred years of the Pari-Nirvāṇa of the Enlightened one. May be the second great age of Buddhism is forthcoming.

"Namo Samyaksambuddhāya"

Indo-Vietnamese Relations in Ancient Times

LAM TRUNG QUOC

Buddhism was one of the most popular religions of ancient India. It flourished very much, not only in India but also in many parts of the world. It was disseminated through two routes that is by land routes and by sea route. The land routes led to central Asia upper and lower Mongolia, Tibet, China and Korea. The sea route led to Ceylon, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Viet Nam is the country in Indo-Chinese peninsula which is also the link between those two routes.

According to some foreign references, biographies, and archaeological evidences, we have the following details of early contact between India and Vietnam :

1— Some books were written by the Vietnamese Buddhist monks in the 13th and 14th century A. D.. They say that "In the Man dynasty (in the 2nd and 3rd century A. D.) there were some foreign Buddhist monks like Mārijivaka (Ma-ha-ky-Vuc), Kang Seng-Hone (Khuong Tāng Hoi), and Meo-Po (Mau Bac). Some of them came to Vietnam by sea-route, and the others by land route with a missionary spirit for disseminating Buddhism......"

2— The Ngo Chi's book (Chinese book written about history in ancient times) tells us that "Si Nhiep was a powerful and respectable Chinese Governor in Giao Chau[1]; when he left that country, there were so many people who saw him off. The 'Ho' people go along street with each group about ten persons, which burnt incence....." Sylvain Levi tells us that the term 'Ho' was used in the 3rd century A. D. by the Chinese to call the Western people, therefore, by the term (Ho) may be indicated the Central Asian people or the Indian people.

Another source, Dam Thien Buddhist monk's biography says that ; "The king Cao To of Tuy dynasty talked with Dam-Thien that..." When I think of the noble religion of our respectable teacher, the Lord Buddhas, I am being on the throne, I want to disseminate our religion here and there. I had collected the relics of Lord Buddha and built forty stupas throughout the country and had also had built more than

1. The name of Viet Nam in Anc'ent time.

a hundred and fifty temples. Now, I really want to establish Buddhist temples and stupas in Giao Chau for |the Dharma flourishing throughout the world. Although Giao Chau is a country which is under our control, but it is quite far away. Therefore, Reverend should select a number of virtuous Bhikkhus to go there to teach Buddha-Dharma for the people" Then, the Reverend replied : "Giao Chau has the short route to the Buddhabhūmi (the land of the Lord Buddha), when Buddhism had not flourished at Giang Dong[1] but in Giao Chau, there were more than twenty Buddhist stupas and there were more than five hundred Buddhist monks also, and fifty volumes of Suttas were translated. Because, that land is nearer Buddhabhumi than our country. There were some monks like Māharijivaka, Kang Seng Houn, Tche Kiang Leang (Chi Cuong Luong) and Meou-Po (Mau Bac) disseminating Buddhism, although your desire is to have equality in propagating Buddhism, by sending the monks to go there, but there were sufficience about Buddhism in that country, so, we need not go there"

4-Phap Vu Thuc Luc's book notes that :"In the third century A. D. there was an Indian monk, his name was Kaudra. He came from Eastern India. He belonged to the Brahmanical caste. He went to Giao Chau at the same time with Marijivaka (Ma-Ha-Ky-Vūc) .....

From the evidences mentioned above, we find that Maharijivaka, Tcheng Kiang Leang, Meou Po. were the first monks who brought Buddhism to Viet Nam. We also find that these were the first four monks to preach Buddhism in Viet Nam. One of them is a Chinese, others are Indians. Therefore, it can be said that at that time, Vietnam was influenced more by Indian culture than by Chinese culture.

Dam Thien's biography mentioned above, also tells us that Kang-Seng Houei (Khuong Tang Hoi) his ancestors lived in India for a long time, although his original home was Khuong Cu (Soodiane). He went to Giao Chau and stayed there to translate the Suttas from Sanskrit into Chinese.

In 225-226 there was a monk (Indoseythe). His name was Kalyāṇaruci, who came to Giao Chau and translated sutta "Phap Hoa Tam Muli"

According to a Chinese source, from the beginning of the first century A. D. in the southern part of Viet Nam, there was a country, named Phu Nam[2] which was influenced by Indian civilization. As

1. Although, Buddhism had been flourishing in China since 67 A.D. it reached Giang Dong much later (some scholars say Buddhism reached to China in 217 B. C.)

2. Later it was called Champa.

Indian history tells us, in the third century B. C. Asoka sent many missionaries to several foreign countries for disseminating Buddhism. So, it may be said that Buddhism was brought to Champa from the beginning of the first century A. D.

There is some archaeological evidence which proves that the Lām Ā p country (later called Champa) was influenced thoroūghly by Indian Culture. A rock edict has been found at Vo Canh near Nha Trang Province, which was written in Sanskrit language in the second century A. D. The next was the bronze statue of Lord Buddha height lm 68, found at Dong Duong near Quang nam province. This bronze statue is very beautiful and wellknown in the international achaeological field. It is well preserved and kept in Saigon museum since 1957. This bronze statue belonged to the Amaravati school of Art of India or the similar Anuradhapura School of Art of Shri Lanka. But a special thing which we notice is that this statue influenced the art of the Guptas. According to Pierre Dupont this bronze statue of the Buddha was made by the local people in the third or fourth century A. D.[1]

The rock edict written in Sanskrit found at Vo Canh and the bronze statue of the Lord Buddha are the most valuable evidences for saying that Indian culture influenced the Indo-Chinese peninsula much. This also proved that India has contact with South East Asia since the beginning of the first century A.D.

In the sixth century A.D. there was an Indian monk engaged in or follower of meditati school named Ty-Ni-Da-Lūu-Chi (Vinītaruci) who came to Viet Nam from China. He propagated Buddhism in Viet Nam. He is also the first Buddhist monk who established the meditation sect in Viet Nam. It was continued by more than twenty eight meditation teachers (from 590 A. D. to 1215 A. D.). This event was regarded by Vietnamese Buddhist historians as the greatest event of Buddhism in Viet Nam.

Besides, there were also some Vietnamese Buddhist monks who were pilgrims to India. They came here in the sixth and seventh century A. D. to visit the Buddhist holy places.

The first Vietnamese monk to visit India was Van Ky Thuyen Su (meditation teacher)[2] he was born in Giao Chau and used to travel here and there with Dām-Nhuān. He knew Chinese and Sanskrit very well.

1. See P. Dupon—Les Buddha dits d'Amaravati dans L'Asie du Sud-Est., BEFEO XLIX Page 633 and Jeance Boisselier. La Satuaire du Champa publication EFEC Paris 1963 page 24.

2. Le Bouddhisme en Annam page 31 by Tran Van Giap.

The second was Khuy-Sung Phap Su (Khuy Sung Dharmamaster). He was also born in Giao Chau. A follower of Minh Vien, his name in Sanskrit is Citra-deva (Chat dat la De Ba). He and Minh Vien went to Ceylon by sea route. After that they went to western India, then to central India, there they met Huyen Chieu. He was intelligent, and well versed in Sanskrit language. After visiting Buddha-Gaya, he went to Vuong Xā Thānh (Kucagarapuca, Rajgir). He suffered from sickness and passed away at Truc Lam Tinh Xa (Uruvela) at the age of thirty years.

The third was Moc Xa-De Bā. He was also born in Giao Chau, His real name is unknown, he travelled to many places. He visited Buddha-Gaya and made offerings to the image of Lord Buddha. He died at the age of twenty-five.

The fourth was Tri Hānh Thuyen Su—He was born at Ai Chau[1] His Sanskrit name was Prajnā-Deva. He went to central India and many places. When he reached Bac Kinh Gīa (Ganga), he stayed at Tin Gia temple and passed away there at the age of fifty.

The fifth was—Dai Thang-Dang Thuyen Su. He was born in Giao Chau. His Sanskrit name is Mahāyāna-Pradīpa (Ma-Ha gīa-Na Bat-Dia di-Ba). In the young age, he followed his parents to DO-Hoa-La Bat-De country (Dvāravati). Then he followed envoy Diem Tu to China. He was ordained under Huyen Trang phap su (Hiuen Tsang). He desired to visit Bnddhabhumi much. He went to Ceylon, Eastern India and South India and stayed in Dam-Ma-Lap-De country (Tāmralipti) for twelve years. Therefore, he knew Sanskrit well. He commented "Duyen Sanh Luan" (Nīdānasastra) and other suttas also. Then, he and Nghia Tinh went to central India, visited Nalanda university, Buddha Gaya and Vaishali. Then, he went to Cu Chi country with Vo Hanh; at last he passed away at Niet Ban Tinh Xa (Temple) (Narinirvana) at the age of sixty years.

Thus, it can be said that Buddhism in this period was very popular although, Vietnam was still disturbed by Chinese invasion and sometimes by Champa too.

There were many Indian and Chines monks who had come to disseminate Buddhism in Viet Nam. Therefore, there were also some Vietnamese monks who went to visit holy places and study in India. Viet Nam at that time was a suitable link between China and India. Moreover, Champa was a strong country at that time. The people of that

1. Thanh Hoa in present-day, Viet Nam.

country used Sanskrit as the national language and understood the Javanese language also. Geographically, Viet Nam was very close to such countries. There were many people who had contact with them. They learnt and understood those languages. The Chinese used to go to India and the Indians to China. When they reached to Giao Chau, they used to find Vietnamese interpreters or collaborated to translate suttas into Sanskrit. Therefore, we would not be surprised if we come to know that many books were translated for the first time in Giao Chau.

After this we do not have any documents about Vietnamese pilgrims to India. It may be due to unsettled political conditions. But in the twelfth century A. D. there was a group of Vietnamese as; Tu-Dao Hanh, Khong Lo, and Giac Hai who intended to go to India for their further studies through the way of Van Nam province. But, unfortunately, they met so many difficulties, at last they could not succeed and returned to Viet Nam.

These evidences prove that there were good relations between India and Viet Nam in ancient times.

A special thing which we would likc to emphasize here is that Buddhism went to many countries, but wherever the Buddhism has gone, it tries to mix, to collaborate with the local culture, religions, and tradition of the people. They never used force, troops, weapons etc. to compel the people to follow them. This we find even in the reign of Asoka. He was strong and most powerful king, but he did not use the means of power, forces, troops for disseminating Buddhism. Besides, they never have an idea to dominate the spiritual life of the people. Coming to another point, the evidences also tell us that at the time when Buddhism went to Viet Nam, this country was still under Chinese domination and when Buddhism reached there (Viet Nam) it did not collaborate with foreign forces to dominate that people. On the Contrary, it collaborated with the local people to develop in many fields for the country, such as economic, political, cultural, social and so on. It encouraged all the local people to struggle for the peace, freedom, independence and sovereignity of the country. The result was that they could defeat all foreign invaders.

For many centuries Buddhism in Viet Nam has played the most important role for the country. Some king who were Buddhist monks also, respected Buddhism much and some of them adopted Buddhism as the national religion.

When the country was invaded by foreign invasions, the Buddhist monks used to be the leaders of the liberation movernments for the

country and many of them disrobbed and serve military to fight for freedom of the country, but when the peace, sovereignty come, they used to be re-ordained again for carrying their normal life.

These evidences prove that Indians had contact with South-East-Asia since the beginning of the first century A. D. What is the reason that Indians went very far like that ? We may have some theories :

1. It may be some kings were overthrown in India. They ran away with their families and followers to far off lands to re-establish their new kingdoms. But we should also remember that, in ancient time the ships or boats were not as large and big as at the present time. So, it was really difficult to carry many people at the same time to establish any new country. (Some names like Ayodhya, Sukhodaya etc would substantiate the idea).

2. In the Third century B. C. Asoka sent many missionaries to many foreign countries for disseminating Buddhism and after that there might have been some similar missionaries of Buddhist monks who went to South East Asia for the same purpose.

3. Besides, we also have another evidence that in ancient times Indian sailors used to worship Dīpaṅkara (The Buddha kindles light)[1] because, they believed that this Buddha calmed the Ocean and protected them.........

4. In ancient times, European countries, especially Rome had formed many Associations of Trade. They went very far off strange lands to purchase and to sell special goods......The Christian Missionaries followed those businessmen or trade to propagate the Christian faith also step by step all of them tried to conquer and dominate those countries. Indian tradesmen went to far off lands to purchase goods as well as to sell goods. Some of them were Buddhist, So it may be some Buddhist missionaries followed them to disseminate Buddhism in those countries. But, here a point we should remember is that the Indian traders and Buddhist monks did not use any means... ...to conquer or dominate those countries. These facts have been noted clearly in the history of different countries.

Now, Let us turn back to Indian traders and Indian Monks. In ancient times, when they wanted to go from India to Indo-Chinese peninsula or Indonesia or Malaysia they used to wait for the suitable

1. Sylvain Levi 'Les merchants de mer' et leur role dans le Buddhism primitife, Bulletin societe des amis de L' Orient, October 8929.

monsoons. If they departed from India to Viet Nam, they waited for South West monsoon winds. When they reached VietNam, they sold goods and purchased the local goods to bring back to India. This naturally took time. So, they had to wait for the North East Monsoon, which when started they returned to India. When they stayed in the foreign countries for a long time, automatically, they set up the houses, hotels etc. .....for exchanging with the local people They organized their society or societies as in India. Those who followed Hinduism, brought with them images of Lord Siva, Krisna and other Gods. Those who followed Buddhism, brought with them the images of Lord Buddha. They worshipped them as in India. Therefore, in many regions which I have visited such as Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia I have seen many Indians. For example, in Saigon also, we find some areas where there are many Indians who have been there since a long time. This is also reasonable. It appears Indian religions were introduced into Viet Nam in this very manner.

As the evidences tell us, in the sixth and seventh century A. D. there were some Vietnamese monks who came to India for studying and Visiting Buddhist holy places. But, unfortunately, up till now, there are no evidences showing as to where they studied and what they did at that time. We do not know, if they were the products of Nalanda or some other Indian Universities at that time.

One of them was the follower of Hsuen Tsang, a famous Chinese scholar, who was the product and also a prominent teacher of Nalanda University in ancient times. Dai Thang-Dang Thuyen Su, Huen Tsang's follower, who came to India, visited many places such as : Nalanda university, Buddhist holy places. He stayed at Tāmralipti for twelve years, he knew Sanskrit well, he commented on the Nidāśāstra and other suttas also.

Therefore, there may be many records, or books that must have been written by them in Sanskrit or other Indian languages that have not yet been discovered. Some evidences also tell us that some Vietnamese monks who came to India for studying and visiting the holy places and some of them also died in India.

All the evidences mentioned above prove that there were very good relations and contacts between India and Viet Nam in ancient times.

Select Bibliography :

1. Viet Nam Phat Giao Su Luoc (the outline history of Buddhism in Viet nam) T. T. Mat The, Phat Hoc Vien Trung Phan, 1960

2. Le Buddhism en Annam des origines au XIII siecle (1932), by Tran Van Giap

3. Communantes et moines Buddhists chinois au IIe et IIIe siecle, H. Maspero

4. Esquisse d'une histoire du Buddhism au Tonkin (1939) Tran Van Giap

5. Les Buddhas dits d'Amaravati dans L'Asia du Sud-Est BEFEOXLIX Page 633

6. La Satuaire du Champa, publication EFEO (Paris 1963)

7. 'Les marchants de mer' et leur role dans le Buddhism primitife, Bulletin Societe des amis de l'Orient, October 1929

8. L' art Vietnamien—Louis Bezacier, paris 1964 page 135-157 and 177-197

9. Indo Chine, Carrefour des arts (Collection L'art dans le Monde) A Michel, Paris 1961, Bernard Groscier.

10. L' Art du Boudhism (collection L' art dans le monde) A Michel, Paris 1962-Dictrich Sekel.

11. Viet Nam Van Hoa Su Cuong Sāigon, 1962, by Dāo Duy Anh

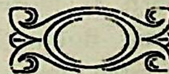
12. Viet Nam Su Luoc, Tran Trong Kim, 1942, Hanoi

13. Van Hanh Bulletin no 8th and 9th, 1965, Sāigon Editor : T.—Duc Nhuan

14. Revue des amis du vieux Hue (1915) page 173. 286, 448.

15. Buddhism and Viet Nam, No 165, vol. I—1672 Gio nam daily newspaper, Saigon, Director ; Thich Huyen Dieu. Sāigon, 1971

Viet tai-Dai Hoc Patna, Mūa-Dong nam 1974.



Jaina Edifices of South India with special reference to Dvārasamudra

G. C. CHAULEY
CURATOR
Nalanda Museum, ND

Jainism came into existence prior to Buddhism as has been revealed from the words of Buddha. Mahāvira, their last apostle and contemporary of Sakyamuni Buddha was a native of Vaishālī and died at Pāvā or Pavāpurī in South Bihar. Jainism is broadly divided into two sects, the Digumbaras, that is those 'whose covering is the air' who regard nudity as a sign of holiness and the Svetāmbaras, who are 'clad in white'. The Jaina religious theories and practices, in many respects closely resemble those of the Buddhists They acknowledge no supreme creator, believe in transmigration, regard all animal lives as sacred, reverence the Jina's or Tīrthaṅkaras, because they believe them to have overcome all human desire and to have attained Nirvāṇa. The followers of the religion are chiefly engaged in business.

The antiquity of Jaina edifices goes back to the 2nd century B. C. and they are in no way inferior to that of the Buddhist though the number of such religious shrines are very few. The dating of the bust of Tīrthaṅkaras discovered at Mohenjodero is still controversial. The jaina like other religious sects excavated cave-dwellings or Bhikṣhugrihas for their saints but they did not require large assembly halls like the Chaityas of the Buddhists.

As early as 2nd century B. C. we come across a group of caves hewn out or excavated in Udaigiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills in Orissa. The pillared pavallion, niches sculptures and elephant and other animal motives are as rich and superb as those of contemporary Buddhist remains at Bhaja, Karla, Bharhut, Bodhgaya etc. Later in the early centuries of the Christian Era a large number of Caves were also excavated in different parts of India *viz.* Junagadh, Girnar, Aihole, Badami, Pitalkhora, Ankai, Chamarlena and Indrasabha & Jaganathsabha in Ellora as well as Suvarṇa Bhaṇḍāra at Rajgir. These are some of the rare examples of Jaina rockcut caves. So far as temples and other edifices are concerned the Jaina artists excalled in many respects and

ha eft behind them a unique workmanship and technical skill as exemplified in the artistic remains in different parts of this country, *viz.* Girnar, Mount Abu, Parshvanātha, Gwalior, Khajuraho and Chitore. The dome of the Vimala and the Tejapāla temples at Abu, the tower at Chitore and jaina Bastis and the priest tomb of Mudabidri (Mysore) are magnificents of Jaina architecture.

South India was also a stronghold of this community. In the South are also available caves and temples (*bastis*) and Bettas etc. which are also interesting for studying the different phases of jain art in the South. If we give credence to the legend of Maurya Chandragupta's death at Chandragiri hill at Sravanabelgola as a jain, then the antiquity of jain religion in South India will go back to the period (3rd cent. B. C.). But it is a well established fact on the basis of Epigraphic evidence that the jainas are said to have entered in South India owing to a famine in the North in 1st. Century B. C.. It is quite clear from their cave temple that there were jains at Aihole and Badami as early as 6th-7th century A. D., of course it existed in Mysore long before and some of the early kings of the Chalukya dynasty were patrons of jainism as a result of which few important temples were constructed in the Kanada Deshya which, though not the grandest, certainly the most elegant and graceful types to be found belonging to the jaina style of architecture specially the bell shaped *stambhas* (Pillars).

Most of the Jaina shrines are dedicated to an image of one of the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras which were the objects of worship but some of the Hindu Gods were represented into their sculptures. Atleast those of them that are connected with the tales of their saints, among which are Indra, Garuḍa, Sarasvatī. Lakshmi, Asuras, Nāgas, Rākṣasas, Gandharvas, Apsarās etc. form a pantheon on their own. They are divided into four classes (a) Bhavanādhipatis (b) Vyantaras (c) Jyotishkas (d) Vaimānikas. The Tīrthaṅkaras are each recognisable by a symbol or *Chinha.* usually placed below the image *viz* Ādinātha Bull, Ajitanāthā Elephant, Vimalanāthā Boar and Parswanatha Serpent etc. etc..

The Shrines of the North and the South show but little difference. The first peculiarity that strikes one as distinguishing the jaina architecture of the south is the division of the temples into two classes, *viz. bastis* and *Bettas*. The *Bastis* are temples in the usual acceptance of the word, as understood in the North, and always contained an image of one of the twenty four Tīrthānkaras. But the latter ones (Bettas) are unknown in the North. It means a courtyard usually on a hill or rising

ground open to the sky and containing images, not of the Tīrthaṅkara, but of Gomata or Gomateśvara. Gomateśvara is not popular to the Jains in the North. In the Mysore State three such *bettas* are noteworthy. Each of them contains a colossal image of a Gomateśvara. The first is on the top of a hill at Sravanabelgola. The hill called Indra giri, is one mass of granite about four hundred feet high. The Jains undertook to carve a statue of 58 feet high and have achieved a marvellous success. The second one is at Karkala in South Kanara which is next in size being 41½ feet in height. The date luckily engraved upon it is A. D. 1432. The third one is at Yenur or Venur also in South Kanara is smaller, about 35 feet high and was erected in 1604 A. D. Even in the collection of Archaeological Museum, Halebidu, there is another colossal figure of Gomateśvara about 26 feet high, collected from the ruins of Dvārasamudra.

Dvārasamudra, the then glamorous capital of the Hoysalas of Mysore now well known as Halebedu, is situated 105 miles North west of Bangalore. The Hoysalas of the Kannada speaking country though a short lived petty dynasty had achieved eminence and had illuminated for a short while the pages of history for their multipurpose activities in different fields like art, architecture, literature, religion, economy etc. The Hoysalas were followers of Jainism but Vishṇuvardhana (1117 A. D.) broke the tradition and became converted to Vaishṇavism. But they were not narrow minded sectarians. They patronised the Jains also which has been revealed from the existence of a remarkable Jains *Basti* in the heart of their capital Dvārasamudra.

This jain *Basti*, consisting of three separate temples dedicated to three different Tīrthaṅkaras—Ādināthesvara, Śāntīśvara and Pārśvanātheśvara along with a Manastambha in the fore ground, is surrounded by high boundry walls on all four sides. The workmanship of these temples are very attractive as well as interesting. The builder of the Hoysala temples invariably used a dark stone of much finer grain (soap stone) than the large unwieldy blocks of sand stone used by the earlier Chalukyas.

The change of material made it possible for the masonry of the Mysore temple to the better finished and the suculpture to be carved in more minute and exquisite detail. All the three temples are standing facing north. The Pārśvanātha Svāmī temple is the largest one. All the shrines here comprise three important divisions of the temples, i. e. Garbhagṛha with a vestibule in front known as Sukhanāsi and connected with a pillared hall (Navaranga) and Mukhamaṇḍapa. The plinth of

these temples is very low unlike that of the Hoysaleśvara and Kadareśvara temples at Halebidu.

In the Garbhagṛha of Pārśvanātha temple a highly polished black stone standing figure of Pārśvanātha about 14' feet in hight is installed. The main image has a seven hooded snake canopy. He is accompained by two of his Yakṣas, Dharaṇendra and Yakṣī Padmāvatī. There are regular stair-cases on both sides of the image which reach up to the head for anointing purpose. The Navaraṅga has a beautifully decorated circular ceiling of about 12 ft. in diameter with pendent lotus bud designs in the middle. The bell shaped pillars are of ṣpecial interest having beautiful polish and apparently seem to be turned in a lathe. All these pillars are elegantly decorated with bead and jewellery design. The polish is so glazed that the reflection of the looker (visitor) is to be seen in upside down position when anyone stands in front. It reminds one about the high polish of the Mauryas. These types of polished pillars are seldom found in any other contemporary temples except a few and comparatively inferior types found in the Navaraṅga of the famous Chhenṇa Keshava temple at Belure and of the Akkam Bastī at Sravanbelgola. There are 8 niches within the Navaraṅga which once housed some Jain deities but now empty. On both sides of the entrance of Garbhagṛha are shown the seated figures of Sarvahnayakṣa to the right and Kushmanandini (Yakṣī) seated to the left. The Mukhamaṇḍapa is also present.

The temple which is standing in the middle is dedicated to Ādinātha. The image here is smaller in size (2½ ft) flanked by Gomukha and Chakreśvarī, the usual Yakṣa and Yakṣī. The original image which is in a mutilated condition is kept in the Navaraṅga. Besides a figure of Saraśvatī and of a Gandharva are also placed in the Navaraṅga within a separate Maṇḍapa.

The last one dedicated to Śāntinātha is very plain and simple. The door way is nearly 13' ft. in height. The image of Śāntinātha is also 14 ft. in height and flanked on either side by Kiṁpuruṣa and Mahamanshi, his usual Yakṣa and Yakṣī. Stair-cases for the anointing ceremony is also present here. All the three images contain inscriptions on the pedestal. On its entrance gate two massive standing elephants are installed like the guardian of the entrance beautifying the whole atmosphere of the temple complex. One more piculiar feature in the construction of the Jaina shrines is also found in a place called Mudabidri, 20 miles north-east from Mangelore. Some 16 *bastīs* are in existence

of which the largest and most notable one is Hosa-Bastī, built in 1430 A. D. The Architecture is neither in the Dravidian style of the South nor in that of the North India and indeed this architectomic type is not known to exist anywhere else in India proper, but something very like that is met with in S. E. Asian countries and in Nepal.

In the neighbourhood of Mudabidri a large number of tomb of the priests are also found possessed of some unique features. They vary much in size and magnificence, some being from 3 to 5 or 7 storeys in height. Unlike the storeys of Dravidian temples here division of each storey is shown as sloping roof like those of the Pagodas of Kathmandu, Tibet, or China. In India these are quite anomalous. In the first place no tomb of priests is known to exist anywhere else and their froms, too, are quite unlike any other building now known to be standing in any other part of India.

References:—

1. *History of South India*, K. A. N. Shastri.
2. *Indian & Eastern Architecture*, Fargusan.
3. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IV.
4. *Gazetter of Mysore State*.
5. *Annual Report, & Archaeology Department*, Mysore.
6. *Jain Art & Architecture*, A. Ghosh.

Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute

The establishment of the different research Institutes formed an important item in the rich tributes paid by the State Government of Bihar to the cultural heritage of the land in independent India. The K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, established in 1950 in the sacred memory of the late scholar patriot Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, was entrusted the duty to explore the history and culture of India in general and of Bihar in particular in Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern periods. The rich collection of Sanskrit manuscripts salvaged from Tibet by Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana was put at its disposal for study, editing and publication. The Institute, during the first two decades of its fruitful existence had the good fortune of having eminent scholars like the late Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. K. K. Datta as its Directors and Dr. S. H. Askari and Dr. B. P. Sinha as Hony. Joint Directors.

The Institute now consists of twenty three members including seven wholetime Research Fellows besides the Director, Librarian technical Assistants and office staff.

The Institute originally had two separate wings dealing with History and Archaeology. In 1961 the Archaeological wing was converted into the Directorate of State Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.

The Institute now conducts study and research alone. It has started the following research series :

A. Tibetan Sanskrit Series—started with the edition of the Pramanavartikalamkara of Prajñākaragupta of Magadha edited by Mahāpandita Rahula Sankrityayana. The works of Durvekamisra, Ratnakīrti and Jñānaśrimitra followed. The Bodhisattvabhumi of Asanga, Abhidharmakośabhasya of Vasubandhu, Bhikṣunivinaya, Arthaviniscayasutra, Śravakabhumi and Madhyāntavibhāgabhāsya are some of the notable works in this series.

B. Historical Research Series. It started with the Biography of Kunwar Singh & Amar Singh, the eminent freedom fighters from Bihar. Biography of Dharmasvamin (translated into English from Tibetan) by G. Roerick, Kumrahar Excavation Reports, Antiquarian Remains in Bihar, Karian Excavation Reports, Suvarṇavarṇavadāna, Beginnings of Modern Education in Mithila, Tarikh-i-Shersahi (English translation)

Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar and History of Buddhism in India of Lama Taranath (Hindi Translation) deserve to be mentioned here.

The Comprehensive History of Bihar, Vol. I and Vol. III has been published.

C. Classical Sanskrit Text Series started with the Raghuvaṃsa-darpaṇa of Hemadri on the Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the publications of the Institute have been appreciated all over the world and many of them went out of print soon after their publication. The publications have been favourably reviewed, translated into modern languages and scholarly dissertations have been written on their basis.

Contributions of Recent Years

1. Bhiksuṇivinaya of the Lokottaravadi—Mahāsanghika School Ed. Dr. Gustav Roth, 1970
2. Arthaviniścayasūtram—Ed. Dr. N. H. Samtani, 1971
3. Suvarṇāvarṇāvadana—Ed. Dr. S. R. Roy, 1970
4. Śrāvakabhūmi of Asanga—Ed. Dr. K. Shukla, 1973
5. Aśokanibandha (Avayavinirākaraṇa & Sāmānyadūsaṇa) —Ed. A. L. Thakur, 1974
6. Raghuvamśadarpaṇa of Hemadri—Ed. R. P. Dvivedi, 1974
7. The History of Buddhism in India-Lama Taranath, Hindi translation from Tibetan, R. L. Lama, 1971
8. Biginnings of Modern Education in Mithila by Dr. J. S. Jha, 1972
9. Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar by Dr Q. Ahmed, 1973
10. Contribution of Bihar to Sanskrit Literature by Dr. S. C. Banerji, 1973-74
11. Comprehensive History of Bihar Vol. I, Pts I & II Ed. Dr. B. P. Sinha, 74-75
12. Tarikh-i-Shersahi of Abbas Khan Sherwani-Eng. translation with notes by—Sri B. P. Ambasthya, 1975.
13. Abhidharmakośabhāsya of Vasubandhu ed. P. Pradhan revised with Introduction and appendices by —Dr. Mrs A. Haldar, 1975.

14. Ratnakīrtinibandhāvali Revised second edition by
—A. L. Thakur, 1975.
15. Lokottaravadi-Mahasanghika Pratimokshsūtra.
—Dr. N. M. Tatia, 1976.
16. Comprehensive History of Bihar Vol. III Ed. Dr. K. K. Datta & Dr. J. S. Jha

In the Press

1. Abhidharmadipa Ed. P. S. Jaini (2nd Edn)—published
2. Abhidharmasamuccayatikā Ed. Dr. N. Tatia—published
3. Sāratamā Ed. P. S. Jaini.
4. Guhyasamājatantraṭīkā Ed. C. H. Chakravarti
5. Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvali revised second Edn. by A. L. Thakur.
6. Imperial Honeymoon with Indian Aristocracy.
—Dr. V. C. P. Chaudhari.

OPINIONS

TIBETAN SANSKRIT WORKS SERIES

Vol I. *Pramāṇavārttika-Bhāṣyam of Prajñākaragupta. Edited by Tripitakacarya Rahula Sankrityayana, pp. Royal 648+13+25—Price Rs. 15.00. Appendix, pp. 44, Price Rs. 2.00.*

Prof. D. H. H. Ingalls, Professor of Indian Philosophy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass, U. S. A.—28-1-'55—"The publication of three sections of this author's chief work, the Pramāṇavārttika, together with an ancient and learned commentary thereon, is therefore an event that will be welcomed by scholars.. .... Prajñākaragupta deserves to be translated. And the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute deserves warm praise for having recovered a master of Buddhist philosophy together with a master of Sanskrit style."

Vol. II *Dharmottarapradīpa of Durvekamiśra. Edited by Prof. Dalsukhabhai Malvaniya, Se ond Edition (1971), pp Royal 302+60, Price Rs. 20.00.*

Prof. Dr. Friederich Weller, Leipzig, Stefanstr 12, Germany—20-9-'57.

"This work is most welcome to me and whenever I use it I shall remember your munificence. So far as I studied this sub-commentary on Dharmottara's Nyāyabinduṭīkā my impression is that the Dharmottarapradīpa is a very comprehensive and solid exegesis of Dharmottara's Ṭīkā full of information. We are much obliged to you and Pandita Dalsukhbhai Malvania for having edited this work."

Vol. III. *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī of Ratnakīrti edited by Prof. Anantalal Thakur, M. A., pp. Royal 160 + 29, Price Rs. 4.00 (1957)—*

E. Frauwallner, Vienna—"The present edition by A. Thakur is carefully done. The comprehensive introduction shows a very good knowledge of the literature."

Vol. IV *Abhidharmadīpa with the commentary Vibhāṣāprabhā edited by P. S. Jaini, M. A., Ph. D., Tripiṭakācārya, pp. 499 + 144 + 12 Price Rs. 12.00 (1959)*

Dr. Edward Conze, JRAS, 1962.

It would take many pages to describe the wealth of topics illuminated by this publication, and no student of Buddhist thought can open it without learning something about some of the subjects that interest him.

Vol. V *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvaliḥ of Jñānaśrīmitra edited by Prof. Anantalal Thakur, M. A., pp. 644 + 67 + 10. Price Rs. 25.00, (1959)*

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Calcutta, 18.3.1961—I appreciate very much the fine way in which this book has been edited. This adds greatly to the reputation of Bihar scholarship in Sanskrit and Buddhism, and is a very fine publication worthy of the Institute.

Vol. X *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya edited by Dr. N. Tatia and Prof. Anantalal Thakur, M. A., pp. 55—5 Price Rs. 4.00, (1967)*

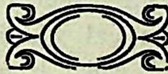
Sri Dalsukhabhai Malvania, Director, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 23.6.70—Madhyānta-vibhaga-Bhāṣya very ably edited by Dr. Tatia and Prof. Thakur is an important text of the Buddhist Philosophy and is printed for the first time in Nagari script. The scholars in India and abroad will be grateful to the Institute for this important publication.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH SERIES

Vol. VII *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna edited by Dr. Sitaram Ray, pp. 1-XVII—1-356 with Bibliography; indices and five plates; Price Rs.* 18.00 (*1971*).

Dr. A. Hirakawa, Department of Indian Philosophy, University of Tokyo, Japan, 11. 11. 1971.

I am very glad to have the valuable text Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna with exhaustive study on it. This text was wanting in the Chinese Tripitaka and the publication would be a great contribution to the Buddhist studies in the world.



THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND THE NYĀYAŚĀSTRA

ANANTALAL THAKUR

The Mahābhārata as it stands to-day evinces acquiantance with the Nyāyaśāstra. The names Gotama and Gautama are very familiar to it. One Gautama was present at the bedside of Bhiṣma (XII. XLVII. 10). Gautama Dirghatamas is said to have his hermitage in Magadha (II. XXI. 28). Gautama, the husband of Ahalyā is said to have thousands of disciples (XIV. lvi. 5) of whom Uttaṅka was the most devoted. This Uttaṅka underwent much hardship to pay the preceptor's fee (Gurudakṣiṇā) at the instance of Ahalyā (XIV. lviii.) It again refers to the old story of Cirakārin, son of Gautama and Ahalyā, who hesitated to kill his erring mother when asked to do so by the angry father. The sage, in a cooler moment found injustice in his command to the son and was very glad to find that the execution had been delayed (XII. cclxvi). Besides these there is the story of the ungrateful Gautama. Kṛpācārya, the preceptor of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas is also called Gautama as he was the son of Śaradvān, disciple of the sage Gautama. But Gautama, husband of Ahalyā has traditionally been accepted as the author of the Nyāyadarśana.[1] He is called Medhātithi (XII. cclxv, 45) of high wisdom. Bhāsa in the Pratima nāṭaka attributes the Nyāyadarśana to Medhātithi.

The Mahābhārata mentions a 'Yuktiśāstra (XIII. CV. 147) which along with the Nyāyaśikṣā (I..i. 66) seems to be a logical treatise like the work of Gautama, if not identical with it. Again we find a reference to a Tarkaśāstra (XII. ccxl. 18) which is despised. In the same connection those adepts in the science of epistemology (pramāṇajñāḥ), those depending upon the Nyāyaśāstra (Nyāyaśāstrāvalambinaḥ) and those well-versed in the Tarkaśāstra (tarkaśāstraviśāradāḥ) are also mentioned (XII. p. 34). Here Nyāyaśāstra seems to have been distinguished from Tarkaśāstra. The Ānvīkṣikī is mentioned along with Trayī (the Vedas), Vārtā (Commerce and agriculture) and Daṇḍanīti (Politics and Administration). These four Vidyās are mentioned together in the Manusamhitā (VII. 43). The origin of Ānvīkṣikī is given in the Mahābhārata (XII.LIX.) Here Brahmā is said to have written a work of one lac chapters comprising these four Vidyās.

Trayī cā nvīkṣikī cai'va vārtā ca bharatarṣabha.
daṇḍanītiś ca vipulā vidyās tatra nidarśitāḥ.

1. अक्षपादो महायोगी गौतमस्तपसि स्थितः ।
गोदावरीसमानेता अहल्यायाः पतिः प्रभुः ॥···

The tarkavidyā is despised and the consequence of following it is said to be the birth as a jackal. It is said to be without any essence and its follower is a controversalist who speaks in assemblies citing reasons at each step. He censures the scriptures and quarrels with the Brāhmaṇas and is an unbeliever, doubts everywhere and is really a fool though fancying himself to be learned (XII. CLXXX. 47-9). That there were several Nyāya schools following different Nyāya treatises is mentioned and one is asked to follow the one furnished with reasoning and support from the scripture and behaviour of the honest people.

nyāyatantrāny anekāni tāis tair uktāni vādibhiḥ,
hetvāgamasadācārair yad yuktaṃ tad upāsyātām.

The hermitage of the sage Kaṇva was full of logicians who knew the truth about the soul as taught in the Nyāya (nyāyatattvātmavijñānasampannāḥ), were experts in the formation and combination of the different propositions (nānāvākyasamāhārasamavāyaviśāradaḥ) and attained the highest proficiency in the doctrines of establishment of one's own thesis and refutation of that of others (sthāpanākṣepasiddhāntaparamārthajñatāṃ gataḥ). They knew the casual law (Kāryakāraṇavedinaḥ) and the truth about the Vaiśeṣika categories of substance, quality and action (dravyakarmaguṇajñaḥ) I. LXX. 42-5).

In connection with the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices of Yudhiṣṭhira we hear of disputations among learned debators. In the former there were jalpa and vitaṇḍā. Some strengthened the weak theses and others weakened the strong ones with reasons adduced according to the śāstra. There were debators who diverted the thesis of others.[1] In the latter again skilful disputationists cited numerous reasons with a view to conquer one another.[2]

1. अजल्पुरमितौजसः ॥३
एवमेतन्नचाप्येवमेवं चैतन्न चान्यथा ।
इत्युचुर्बहवस्तत्र वितण्डा वै परस्परम् ॥४
कृशानर्थांस्ततः केचिदकृशांस्तत्र कुर्वते ।
अकृशांश्च कृशांश्चक्रुर्हेतुभिः शास्त्रनिश्चितैः ॥५
तत्र मेधाविनः केचिदर्थमन्यैरुदीरितम् ।
विचिक्षिपुर्यथा श्वेना नभोगतमिवाभिषम् ॥६
M. Bh. II xxx.vi

2. तस्मिन् यज्ञे प्रवृत्तेतु वाग्मिनो हेतुवादिनः ।
हेतुवादान् बहूनाहुः परस्परजिगीषवः ॥
Ibid. XIV lxxxv. 27

When Arjuna starts for the forest in order to expiate for the violation of some family convention, many ascetics living in forests along with debators (Kathakas) accompanied him (I. ccxiii. 3). These Kathakas seem to be logicians adept in Vāda, Jalpa and Vitaṇḍā—the three forms of debate recognised in Nyāyadarśana.

The story of Suvarcatā and Śvetaketu (XII. CCXX) deserves mention in this connection. Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka was well-versed in the Nyāyaśāstra (nyāyaśāstraviśāradaḥ), knew the art of reasoning and counter-reasoning (uhāpohavidhānajñaḥ) and used to contemplate on the science of causal law (Kāryakāraṇabhāvanaḥ). In the dialogue with his wife Suvarcatā, Śvetaketu solved several philosophical problems. His view with regard to the relation between sound and its sense is particularly interesting to a student of logic. He does not accept any relation here except that of the container and the contained as between a dew drop and the lotus petal containing it.

sabdārthayor nā cai, 'vā 'sti sambandhs' tyanta eva hi.
puṣkare ca yathā toyam tatha 'sti 'ti ca vettha tat.

XII. ccxx (Kumbhaghonam edn.)

The disputation between Aṣṭāvakra and Bandin (III.CXXXIV) in the assembly of King Janaka of Mithilā may be cited as good examples of Samkhyaikāntavāda as alluded to in the Nyāyadarśana (IV. I. 41-3). It is said that Bandin used to conquer in Vāda his opponents and then drown them in the river CXXXII Vi 15-16. CXXXIII. 18. CXXXIV. 23. The causal law has been referred to in XIII. 1. 40. Those who depend upon destiny (diṣṭopara) and accidents (haṭhavādika) are despised while those who depend upon the laws of Karman are praised (III. xxxii. 13). Whatever is considered to arise from accident (haṭha) devine grace (daiva) and nature (svabhāva) are really the result of one's past actions (III. xxxii. 20). God dispenses the fruits to the individual souls according to these actions (III. xxii. 21). This agrees with the Karamavāda of the Nyāyadarśana. The instruments like the stick, wheel etc. are not to be held responsible for the production of an effect. The ultimate cause of every effect is the good and bad actions of the individuals (XIII. I). The theory of Kṛtapraṇāsa (NS III. ii. 72) has been referred to in XIII Vii. 5. V. xxvii. 10 cxxiii. 22 etc. Again the theory of Akṛtābhyāgama is referred to in XIII. vi. 10 nā'krtambhujyatekvacit M. Bh. XIII. vi 10.

As the Nyāyaśāstra always agrees with the common experiences, it becomes difficult to ascertain if the śāstra has actually been used

or the verdict of common sense has been given in most of the instances cited above. But there are cases where references to the Nyāya tenets and categories are beyond dispute. Thus the Mahābhārata (XII VI. 41) prescribes the four pramāṇas of the Naiyāyika as instruments of examination of the friends and foes of a king. Of them perception and inference are said to be the source of success. One well-versed in epistomology can, it is said, be successful in ruling the land and a king without this knowledge is himself destroyed. It should be noted here that arthāpatti (presumption) and aitihya (tradition) to which the character of independent source of knowledge has been denied by Akṣapāda are also mentioned in this connection (XII. CXI. 66). According to the Mahābhārata things cognised by perception should be examined by other sources of knowledge also (XII. cxi. 66-7). This seems to be a reference to the theory of prāmaṇasaṃplava of the Naiyāyikas.

The ministers of the king also should learn the science of epistomology and depend on the Nyāyaśāstra[1]. The royal employees should be masters of all the four traditional śāstras - Viz ānvikṣikī, trayī, Vārtā and daṇḍanīti (XII. xxiv). A knowledge of the Nyāya categories of doubt (saṃsaya), ascertainment (nirṇaya), objects of knowledge (prameya) and purpose (prayojana) are also mentioned as serving the royal interests (XII. XXIV).

Of the sub-divisions of the prameyas the Mahābhārata mentions the supreme soul and the individual souls (XII. P. 521) and there is one reference to ātmakevalatā (XII. P. 530) which reminds of the N. Bhāṣya. The subject matter of the Nyāyasūtra tatkāritatvād ahetuḥ IV. 1. 21 is given in III. XXXII. 21. The body is known as the substratum of enjoyment of pleasure and pain (XII. clxxiv. 21. XII. clxxi. 21). But the body, according to the Mahābhārata, is composed of the five elements (XII. P. 518) whereas the Naiyāyika would call it earthly alone. The body and the elements constituting it are endowed with qualities (XII. P. 518-9). The sense-organs, according to the Mahābharata, are six in number XIII. 111. 67. cxxxiv. 13. XIII. liv. 36. the same view is held by the Naiyāyikas also. The process of the working of the sense-organs and the result thereof in the case of one devoid of self-control, are discussed in III. 11. Simultaneous connection by the different sense-organs has been rejected on the ground that the mind cannot attend more than one organ at a time (III. clxxxi. 21).

Supreme importance has been attached to the manas, the principal organ of sense. The senses cognise their objects when the mind

favours them. And when the mind remains disturbed the senses do not cognise them even if they are in direct contact with them[4].

The later Nyāya authors often refer to the example of the iron-smith who, deeply attentive to the sharpening of an arrow missed the sight of the royal procession passing by before his very eyes[5].

That the arthas are produced from the five elements is equally known to the Mahābhārata (XIII. cxlv. 145) and the Nyāyadarśana (I. 1. 14).

The elements (bhūtas) are five in number according to the Mahābharata (XIII. p. 145). Their qualities have been enumerated several times in it. The Bhūtas are associated with pain (XII. p. 508). The ubiquity of Ākāśa (space) is known to the epic (XII. P. 517).

Honey, oil, milk, ghee, flesh, salt, molasses, rice, fruits and roots are all modification of the earth attended by water (XII. p. 550). This is akin to the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika view.

The evil activities through the body, mind and speech called daśakarmapathas have been enumerated in XXII. xix. 2-6 and XIII p. 145. Of these those of speech are worse than the mental ones. But those of the body are the worst of all. The classification is to be found in the Nyāyabhāṣya without their respective importance.

The pains, however intense they may be, have their end (XII. p. 541). The little pleasure that one derives is also attended with pain (XII. 177. 35). The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view does not differ from it. The Mahābharata and the Nyāya hold identical views on the theory of karman that one must suffer for his past karman, which can be got rid of through suffering alone Aśva. xviii 18. 12. Both accept rebirth as a corollary of the karma theory. I xxxvi 12 and VII. lxxxv. 31. An individual is born according to his own actions in the past, from the egg, from the seed, from heat or from the womb (XIII. xlii 333).

The final emancipation of the Mahābhārata (XII. xlvii. 56) is comparable with that of the Nyāyabhāṣya (I.i.22).

4. सर्वं पश्यति यद् दृश्यं मनोयुक्तेन चक्षुषा ।
मनसि व्याकुले चक्षुः पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति ॥
Ibid XII clxxxvi 16
cf. Ibid XII cccxi-17-21

5. इषुकारो नरः कश्चिदिषावासक्तमानसः ।
समीपेनापि गच्छन्तं राजानं नावबुद्धवान् ॥
XII. clxviii. 12

The description of Nārada in II. V. 3-9 shows that the sage was well-versed in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. He is said to have mastered the doctrines of unity, conjunction, difference and inherence, was a good debator, could distinguish between the para and apara and could reach the conclusion on the basis of the means of knowledge. Further he knew the merits and defects of the five—membered syllogism, could go on arguing even if Bṛhaspati stood as his oponent. He was thus a master of the science of inference.

The five members of a syllogism have been ennumerated in a different context (XII. xxiv)

The Mahābhārata evinces a knowledge of all the forms of debate accepted in the Nyāya school. Vāda—amicable debate with a view to arrive at the truth finds a reference the Gita X 32 (VI. XXXIV. 32) when Lord Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with it. But Vāda in the sense of inimical disputation has also been used (III. CXXXII.4).

In II. XXXVI we find an assemblage of the learned sages, Gods and devarsis. There were vigorous disputations In this connection both jalpa and vitaṇḍā are hinted at. And the disputants are all said to be masters of the Bhāṣya.

According to Dhṛtarāṣṭra Aśvatthāman always took delight in the vitaṇḍā (VII. lxxxv. 13).

The word nigraha has been used in the logical sense in XII. cclx.2.

Expressions like arthatattva and niḥśreyasa are found in identical senses in the Nyāyadarśana and the Mahābhārata.

There are some expressions like Vaiśeṣikaguṇa (XII. p. 367) Aṇu (V.xvii.12; VI. cxix-72, cxx 72, Paramāṇu (II. 67. lxvii 38, Sāmānya (XII. p. 514), Samavāya (I.cxxxix 65; VI. ii. 17) which are however used in a general sense in the Mahābhārata when they have acquired special connotation in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature.

Political Awareness in Bihar 1860-1912

DR. JATA SHANKAR JHA

In the present article we propose to discuss the several points which directly or indirectly affected the early revolutionary movement in Bihar. By political awareness it is meant a sort of realisation on the part of people of their helpless condition under a rule which they wish and endeavour to remove. Coming direct to the subject we find a clear difference between the Pre and Post 'Mutiny' periods, so far as the outward manifestation of political awareness is concerned. The first half of the 19th Century is marked by a series of conspiracies, emutes and risings culminating in the revolt of 1857. But the second half is equally conspicuous by the absence of any open challenge to the alien rulers. In some recent publications on the subject pertinent queries have, therefore, been raised regarding this singular phase in the political life of this province[1]. Since the change appears just after the great event let us find out whether the movement was responsible for it, and, if so, how far. The movement, no doubt, was pregnant with lessons for both the parties. For Indians the superiority of British arms and greater resourcefulness of the government became quite clear. The latter also saw the impossibility of running the government without the association of Indians with it, that is, an increased employment of Indians in the civil administration of India. For half a century although they had sent the best and wisest men they had to make the administration as good as possible 'the Sepoy mutiny and rebellion of the population showed but too clearly the failure of the experiment.'

In the post-'Mutiny' period the Bengalis in Bihar made a great impact on the political life of this province. There were Bengali families in Bihar as in many other parts of India prior to the advent of the British rule. Some Bengalis came to Bihar as employees of the early European trading companies in Bihar, and some also as independent traders. But most of them came to this part of the country in the wake of English education. These English educated Bengalis were perhaps the first to organise themselves and assert their rights in the form which later came to be known as 'Constitutional.' As early as 1 April 1870 a

1. Chaudhary, V. C. P., *Creation of Modern Bihar*, P. 4

general strike[1] was observed in Patna College (which then included the Collegiate School also), as a mark of protest against the behaviour of the Head Master, Behrendt. To meet the situation seven students were expelled from the institution. But it only worsened the situation. Great resentment prevailed among the guardians and people of the town. Deputations waited on the Principal of the college, Mc Crindle and other authorities, but to no effect. And ultimately the government instituted a judicial enquiry into the matter. During the course of investigation efforts were made on the part of the college authorities to prove that the cause of disturbance lay in the dismissal of a Bengali Pandit from the institution on the report of Behrendt; that the Bengali students were principal agitators; and that some external agency was working behind the scene. The second party in the case tried to prove that Behrendt was harsh and unfair in marking students absent for most trifling causes; was partial in granting leave of absence, was harassing students in the payment of stipends, was making offensive allusion to the female relatives besides using other offensive epithet and resorting to degrading punishment and taunts. The investigating Judge, Ainslie, found Behrendt unpopular both in and out of the college. Most of the charges against him were found true. But, as Ainslie observed, the agitation "was fostered from without and Mr. Behrendt's unpopularity has been used as a means of punishing him for the pundit's dismissal." Behrendt was censured and warned. The Principal, Mc Crindle was also communicated the displeasure of the government for "want of tact and management displayed throughout" by him. All the expelled students were permitted to rejoin their classes.

The Patna College was again the scene of a riot[2] in the evening of 31 August 1875 when the taunting remarks of the Principal Mc Crindle on some students who had met him to complain against the management of Burton's magic show in the Gymnasium Hall provoked them to create a row in which a student Aghore Nath Datta was pulled down by an assistant of Burton. This infuriated the boys who mobbed him and beat him. Fourteen students were found guilty and they were all rusticated from the college for one year. A teacher, Bansi Lal was dismissed on the ground of dereliction of duties.

In other walks of public life also the educated Bengalis had been making great impression. About the year 1868 there occurred indigo-

1. For a detailed account please refer to "*Patna College Disturbance of 1870*", by J. S. Jha, published in the *Indian Nation*, dated 3 June, 1956
2. Bengal, *General (Education) Proceedings 1-7, July, 1876.*

troubles in Champaran in the estate of Bettiah Raj. Ryots in several villages refused to sow indigo on their lands. Their cause was taken up by the *Hindoo Patriot* of Calcutta. The movement, according to contemporary government reports, was directed mainly against the Manager of Bettiah Raj, Gibbon, and the anti-planter bias in Calcutta press was ascribed to some designing persons at Bettiah. The name of a Bengali doctor there, Jai Gopal, was specially mentioned. In Patna itself Guru Prasad Sen, a leading Bengali pleader, brought out the first English newspaper in Bihar, called *The Behar Herald*, in 1875. The tone of the paper was not always pro-government. Paying eloquent tributes to the services of Sen, Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha observes: "During their long administrative association with the Bengalees the Biharis learnt much in public affairs and activities from a number of Bengalees settled in Bihar, and of those Guru Prasad Sen was beyond all doubt the most prominent"[1] Elsewhere Dr. Sinha says that "...... as a lawyer, journalist and publicist he (Guru Prasad Sen) served for a long time the interest of Behar......"[2].

The government could not view all these developments with equanimity. The growing influence of the educated Bengalis became a matter of deep concern for them. Already in an official minute of 17 December 1868 John Strachey, a member of the Governor General's Council, had sounded a note of caution against the educated Bengalis, when he observed; "I believe it to be a fact that there is hardly any class of population which hates us more thoroughly than the highly-educated gentlemen of Lower Bengal".[3] This feeling had been expressed in the context of according greater facilities to Indian students to compete for the Indian Civil Service examination in England. And the Secretary of State for India, in his despatch No. 3 of 8 April 1869, also betrayed a somewhat similar prejudice when he observed : "In vigour, in courage and in administrative ability some of the races of India most backward in education are well known to be superior to other races, which intellectually are much more advanced. In a competitive examination, the chances of Bengali would probably be superior to the chances of a Pathan or Sikh. It would, nevertheless, be a dangerous experiment to place successful students from the colleges of Calcutta in command over any of the martial tribes of Upper India".[4]

In Bihar the government tried to combat the Bengali influences by

1. Sinha, Sachchidanand, *Some Eminent Bihar Contemporaries*, P. 16
2. Ibid, p. 14
3. National Archives of India, *Home (Judicial) Department, B. Proceedings, October 1884, Nos. 110-111*
4. Ibid.

various means. The task here was not very difficult to perform. Despite the fact that the Bengalis in Bihar wielded much political influence they could not become the natural leaders of the people of Bihar owing to their exclusiveness. They could not merge their identity with the Biharis. Dwelling on this aspect of the Bengali character the great revolutionary leader, Sachindra Nath Sanyal, has rightly observed that "the Bengalis have settled in several provinces out of Bengal but they do not easily give up the peculiarities of their race. Even after living for three or four (or even more) generations in other provinces, the Bengalis in most such places remain Bengalis. Nay they have converted these places into Bengali Mohallas".[1] To counter the preponderance of Bengali students in the Patna College the Lieutenant Governor, George Campbell, thought of abolishing the degree classes from the college. In a letter of 21 March 1872 the Government of Bengal wrote to the Director of Public Instruction that "the Lieutenant Governor has been much struck to observe at the convocation of the Calcutta University, held on the 16th March, that almost all, if not literally all, the University candidates from Bihar were Bengalees. It may be that some of them are to a great extent naturalized in Bihar, but still we do not keep up and specially protect a college in Bihar to educate immigrant Bengalees only".[2] But it proved to be a misfire. The move was strongly opposed by some leading citizens of Bihar like Nawab Sohrab Jung, Rai Jai Kishen and Khuda Bux. In their protest memorial, dated 16th May 1872, they argued that "the intended removal of the B. A. classes from their provincial college at Patna will annihilate the warm zeal and ardour so recently engendered in the Behary minds, and will substitute in its place the firm belief that the Government and their long-revered *Kismut* have destined their sons to remain copying clerks and holders of subordinate appointments, whilst all honourable and lucrative employments are reserved for their more favoured brethren of Lower Bengal".[3] Harbans Sahai of Arrah, another leading Bihari publicman also pleaded that the retention of the degree classes in the Patna College was absolutely necessary as it would "greatly conduce the mental, moral and social progress of the rising generation of Bihar, and thereby to the further advancement, development, and welfare of the Province".[4] The government had ultimately to abandon this invidious move.

Another move on the part of the Government to drive a wedge

1. Sanyal; Sachindra Nath, *Bandi Jivan, (1963)*, P. 26
2. Bengal, *General (Education) Department*, A. *Proceedings, March, 1872, No.* 63
3. *Ibid, May 1872, Nos. 91-94*
4. *Ibid., September, 1872, No. 77-80.*

between Biharis and Bengalees was to force the question of employment of Biharis in Bihar and they succeeded in their game, which finally led to the separation of Bihar from Bengal, causing much bitterness in its trail. The Commissioner of Patna R. P. Jenkins (who had been a witness to the Patna College disturbance of 1870 and the way the leading Bihari and Bengali publicmen had joined hands in agitating the issue) in his annual report on education for 1870-71 observed that Biharis were not making progress in education owing to their exclusion from services even in their own province. Thus he wrote: "Of late years it has become the practice in all district offices to appoint Bengalees as Judges and deputy magistrates in local courts. What effect this almost entire suppression of their own countrymen must have produced on the people of Bihar, it is not difficult to conceive".[1] He pleaded for reservation of certain number of appointments in the subordinate Judicial and executive services for Biharis. He plainly stated that even though the more extensive employment of Biharis might involve some sacrifice of administrative efficiency he would advocate it on the ground of political expediency. This political expediency was readily accepted by the government of George Campbell. In reply the Commissioner was informed that "the Lieutenant Governor concurs with you in thinking that Bengalees, being looked upon in Bihar as foreigners should not ordinarily have Bihar offices". He was directed to see that no Bengali was appointed in any government offices under him without his special permission, excepting as English clerks. As regards the subordinate executive service the Government felt difficulty to lay down a strict rule as the service was treated as a whole. But in the recruitment for this service also due consideration was to be given to the claims of Biharis by relaxing the standard of qualification in English in their case.

In the name of increasing employment of Biharis, the Bihari-Bengalee feeling was whipped up, in which the Anglo-Indian press played a significant role. *The Englishman*, then supposed to be the unofficial mouth-piece of the Bengal Government wrote a long editorial on 27 November, 1879, under the caption "The intellectual capacity of Bengalis".[2] Under the circumstances it was no wonder that some of the Bihari newspaper also adopted the anti-Bengali tone. In its issue of 17 February 1876 the *Murgh-i-Suleman* (of Monghyr) gave the call, 'Bihar for Bihari', in the context of large employment of educated Bihari.[3] Another paper of Bihar, the *Qasid* of 22 January 1877,

1. *Ibid.*; *October 1871, Nos.* 8-10.
2. For the views of many other contemporary newspapers one may look up V. C. P; Chaudhary's *Creation of Modern Bihar*.
3. Chaudhary, V. C. P., *op cit*, p. -7.

condemned the union of Bengal and Bihar as detrimental to the interest of Bihar[1].

Thereafter followed a period of petitions and counter petitions by Biharis and domiciled Bengalis to the government, each side pleading its own separate interest. Now there was no joint memorial to the visiting Lieutenant Governor for matters of general interest of the province. And the government by clever manoeuvres kept the question wide open. The state of uncertainty only helped the situation to deteriorate, and by the last decade of the 19th century the issue assumed serious proportion when a band of educated Biharis came forward with the demand of proper representation of Biharis not only in Provincial Executive and Judicial Services but also in the Provincial Legislative Council and the Senate of Calcutta University. They even claimed a seat on the bench of Calcutta High Court for qualified lawyers from Bihar. The most prominent among them were Mahesh Narayan, Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, Krishna Sahay, Parmeshwar Lal, Nand Kishore Lal, Ali Imam and Mazharul Haque.

The domiciled Bengalis had formed their own social, religious and cultural organisations in different parts of Bihar. They were very much influenced by the events in Bengal. The earliest societies were perhaps founded in connection with the Brahmo Samaj movement. A branch of the Brahmo Samaj was established at Hazaribagh about the year 1868. Other branches of the Samaj came to be set up at Bhagalpur, Patna and Giridih in the eighties of the 19th century. The membership at all these places was confined to the Bengalis. The Samaj failed to evoke any positive response from Biharis. Bhai Baldeo Narain, a resident of the district of Gaya is the solitary example of a really devoted Bihari follower of Brahmo Samaj. He had lived for many years in Calcutta with Keshava Chandra Sen.[2] The orthodox Hindu opinion here was rather hostile to it. In 1887 when Hari Sunder Bose, was preaching at Muzaffarpur he was said to have been garlanded with shoes[3]. The *Bihar Bandhu* (7 August 1884) accused the Brahmos of having extremely radical ideas which would ruin the Hindu Society. The Bengalis had also formed *Hindu Dharma Pracharini Sabha* or *Hari Sabha* at the several district headquarters, the oldest being that of Hazaribagh. It was a religious society where Bengali students and members assembled on Sunday evenings to read the Gita and such like books and to sing

1. *Ibid*
2. *The Behar Herald*, 17 September, 1901.
3. Indian Historical Records Commission, 1970, 41 Session, Proceedings Vol. p. 6

religious songs[1]. In 1906 was established the *Banga Sammilani Sabha* at Bhagalpur to promote social and political interests of Bengalis in Bihar. Again in 1909 was set up the *Purnima Sammilan Society* at Patna with a view to promoting "brotherly, natural and social feelings amongst Bengalis"[2]. The Society had no President or Secretary. It was optional with the members to call for the Society at their own house or any place selected by them, or on a boat in the river on any full moon day. The person calling for the Society had to give feast; boys and girls joined the party, and played music. And in 1912 the Bengali Association was founded at Muzaffarpur "to safeguard the interest of Bengalis in Bihar," with Rai Shib Chandra Bahadur as its Secretary. The Association had over 200 members and weilded much influence over the Bengali community.

PARTITION OF BENGAL

Lord Curzon's project for dividing Bengal into two provinces created a great stir in the country. Although the political condition in Bihar was not very favourable owing to the prevailing movement for separation of Bihar from Bengal, the agitation made some headway in Bengali dominated towns of Bihar. Thus in 1904-05 the Golden League was established at Deoghar with the object to further boycott and Swadeshi agitation. The chief promoters of the movement were Baldeo Ram Jha, an Inspector of Schools, Jogen Basu, the Headmaster of Deoghar School, Binoy Sanyal, a teacher and some local mukhtears and pleaders. Barin Ghosh and his uncle Mani Basu were also its members[3]. In Bhagalpur the agitation was started early in 1906. Surendra Nath Banerjea visited the place along with Kali Prasonna Kavyavisarad, J. Chaudhuri, Liakat Hossain and others and delivered lectures on Swadeshism to enthusiastic assemblies, mostly students of the college, who formed processions and lined the streets in red and yellow clothes. They were also wearing *Bande Matram* badges. Soon Swadeshi shops sprang up in Bhagalpur and the boycott of foreign goods made great impression on the people. Meetings were also organised in different parts of the district of Bhagalpur to educate people in Swadeshism[4]. Surendra Nath Banerjea also visited Ranchi in March 1908 in response to an invitation of the local people. He held a meeting

1. Bihar, *Political (Special) Department, File No. 64 of 1912.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. Sealy, W., *Connections with Revolutionary Organisations in Bihar & Orissa, para 18.*
4. *Ibid., para 119.*

on 10 March 1908 and a Swadeshi Committee was formed. Another meeting was held at the house of Kalipad Ghosh, which was attended by nearly 200 ladies of the town. There he urged them to take the Swadeshi vow which they did with shouts of *Ulu*, each lady touching his feet and saying "I take the *Vrata* (religious vow)[1]. He addressed a few more meetings, with the result that a permanent volunteer organisation was formed for medical relief, sanitation and education of the poor.

Of the Biharis we get references to one Tulsi Singh of Ajwan, P. S. Nowbatpur, Patna, of having been strongly imbued with Swadeshism during his stay at Calcutta for a couple of years. In 1908 he delivered a strong speech in Patna district exhorting his audience "never to buy British goods, to slander the English race freely and not to seek redress of grievances in the Government courts."[2] His lectures always ended with an appeal for Lala Lajpat Rai's orphanage.

In Patna itself one Tarapad Ganguli, a resident of Burdwan, joined the T. K. Ghosh Academy as a teacher about the year 1906. He was a great advocate of *Swadeshi*. At his instance a relation of his opened a *Swadeshi* shop in Patna and he himself "used to induce all students he taught to buy Swadeshi goods."[3] As the students found Swadeshi goods more expensive Ganguli used to pay the differences in price himself. The government had information that he used to preach not only *Swadeshi* among his students but also sedition among the Maharastrian students of the local Medical School.

Likewise at Darbhanga Satish Chandra Chakravarty a resident of Barisal district and teacher in the local Saraswati Academy, organised the celebration of *Rakhi Bandhan Divas* on 16 October 1905. The local Boys Association observed it with great solemnity and zeal.[4]

Monghyr had also its share in the Swadeshi movement, Surendra Nath Banerjea is said to have himself visited Monghyr to preach *Swadeshi* in 1906[5]. A Swadeshi School Sabha was established at Khagaria in 1909 with a view to educate Hindu boys in Swadeshism. Indra Nath Nandi had set up *Chhatra Bhandar* to serve as a Swadeshi concern[6]. Indra Nath Nandi visited Gaya and other places to preach

1. *The Behar Herald, 21 March*, 1908.
2. Bihar, *Political (Special) Department, File No. 918 of* 1915.
3. *Ibid , File No. 1228 of 1916.*
4. Datta, K. K., *Freedom Movement in Bihar, Vol. I, pp. 149-150.*
5. *Ibid., p. 150.*
6. Sealy, W. *op. cit*, para 147.

Swadeshi among villagers with the help of magic lantern. It was about this time that Nandi came into contact with Punit Lal, agent of Lahiri & Co (of Calcutta). The simple villagers of Bihar often greeted him saying, "we are the people of Kunwar Singh's country, we are all ready"[1].

Likewise Swami Vivekanand's success in the Parliament of World Religions in Chicago and his writings and speeches made profound influence on Indian minds. Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga headed the Calcutta Citizens Reception Committee formed to accord a royal reception to this great son of India on the occasion of his first return from abroad.[2] It is significant to note that the early revolutionaries of Patna are credited with the establishment of the Ram Krishna Mission, and organising meetings for spreading the message of Swami Vivekanand. According to a government report Dr. Jnyanendra Nath Mitra, an early revolutionary, is said to have started the Ram Krishna Mission at Patna[3]. Another early revolutionary Prof. Kamakhya Nath Mitra of the local B. N. College was a good exponent of Swami Vivekanand's literatures. Kamakhya Nath Mitra was still a student when Swami Vivekanand had returned from his first visit of America. In his very first meeting with the Swami, the latter is said to have told him "What India needs today is bomb"[4]. In 1911 he delivered a lecture on Swami Vivekanand under the auspices of the Bihar Young-men's Institute which attracted the serious notice of the government. The D. P. I. considered his lectures to be "positively detrimental to the peace and tranquility of Bihar"[5]. He was ultimately removed from the college. Some local schools here began to celebrate the birthday of Swami Vivekanand. In one such meeting held in the local Anglo-Sanskrit School on 25 January 1908 Kedar Nath Banerji, who figured prominently in the early revolutionary movement in Bihar, was in the chair. On this occasion a Bihari student spoke stirringly on the teachings of this great sage and also on the usefulness of unity between the Bengalis and Biharis[6].

But the Union Club (founded in 1882) at Hazaribagh was perhaps the only society which had, as its aim, the promoting of good feelings

1. Datta, Bhupendra Nath, *Aprakasit Rajnitik Itihas*, p. 222.
2. Jha, Jata Shankar, *Biography of an Indian Patriot; Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga*, p 157.
3. *Home-Political (A) May* 1914, *Proceedings No.* 40.
4. Datta, Bhupendra Nath, *op. ct.*, p. 225.
5. *Political (Special), File No.* 152 *of* 1914.
6. *The Behar Herald*, 1 February 1908.

among Indians, whether Bihari or Bengali[1]. In 1876 when Surendra Nath Banerjea visited Patna, in connection with agitation for simultaneous Civil Service examination both in India and England he was accorded rousing reception there, by both Biharis and Bengalis. But in the wake of partition of Bengal in 1906 when he came to Monghyr and Ranchi to preach *Swadeshi*, he did not meet with the same cordiality from other sections of the people. The Bihari leaders declined at the last moment to put their signature to a Memorial to be jointly submitted for a modification of the partition[2]. The Delhi announcement of December 1911 regarding territorial changes raised considerable interest in Bihar. The following is an extract from the confidential report sent to the Government of India on the occasion: "Meetings are being held and memorials presented both by Bengalis and Biharis, the former against and the latter in support of, the retention in Bihar province of the Bengali speaking portions of certain of the transferred districts. The relations between domiciled Bengalis and the Biharis are strained, and it is reported from Bhagalpur that the Bengali pleaders are being boycotted in that district. The Beharis, as a whole, are glad to be detached from Bengal, though there is a feeling of apprehension that Patna will get the lion's share of the advantages of the separation. In Bengali districts generally there is a feeling that the territorial changes will tend to confine Bengali aspirations, and the normal expansion and requirements of a growing population with the boundaries that are too closely restricted. Hitherto Bengalis and Biharis have competed on practically equal terms for government appointments of all kinds in Bihar, but in future the opportunities of the former will be curtailed, and even domiciled Bengalis of Bihar and Orissa apprehend that their share of such appointments in the new province will be considerably diminished. This may be described as the dominant thought underlying all expressions of opinion both for and against the change. There is no doubt that the check to Bengali expansion westward, as well as the increasing facilities for obtaining a literary education will tend to intensify the struggle for existence which is already too pronounced in the towns of this Province, and unless a remedy can be found and fresh avenues of employment opened out there are many who fear that the situation will lead in the end to a renewal of that unrest which is fundamentally economic[3]". And finally when Bihar was separated from Bengal there was unfortunately a long-drawn controversy over the domicile issue. It created much

1. *Political (Special) Department, File No. 64 of* 1912.
2. National Archives of India *Home, Political (A), July* 1911, *Nos. 64-65.*
3. *Home, Political (A) February* 1912, *Nos. 47-48.*

bitterness. Although there were loud professions of co-operations and brotherhood on both sides, each party tried to pull the matter to extremes. In such a state of things co-operation between Bengalis and Biharis in carrying out any scheme of revolutionary movement was well-neigh impossible.

British Conquest of India

V. C. P. CHAUDHARY
B. A. Hons. (London) Ph. D.

The conquest of India by Europeans constituted the main thread in the history of Asia from the eighteenth century till about the close of the nineteenth century. Persons holding different shades of opinion have put forward different theories with regard to the conquest of India by Britain. A rough idea of some of these views is essential to a clear comprehension of what Rudyard Kipling has to say on the theme.

Historians have different opinions as to the motive behind the British conquest of India. One School would like us to believe that it was more of the nature of a cultural conquest than of a political one. The Indian conquest was the inevitable outcome of the triumph of the superior British civilization over the ineferior Indian culture[1]. Contrary to it, Tawney regarded it to be the result of the enterprizes of a handful of European merchants[2]. Hegel, however, regards the greed for Indian wealth to be the motivating factor in the conquest of India[3]. It can hardly he denied that the wealth of the East had been legendary from times immemorial and it had attracted generations of Europe from Alexander to Napoleon.

Late K. M. Panikkar, an eminent Indian historian, dismisses the idea of a civilization on the march or of a puppet show managed by clever merchants. He forcefully asserted that for a long time it had not that character. "In the nineteenth century, Europe, with its social, economic and political structure reorganised by the tremendons indus-

1. Sanson, Sir George Quoted Panikkar's, *Asia and Western Dominance*, P. 17. "It was the expression, the inevitable expression of a civilization on the march. It marked a new phase in development of human society."
2. Ibid, P. 18.
3. Hegel Quoted in K. M. Panikkar's *Asia and Western Dominance*, pp. 23-24. "India as a land of Desire formed an essential element in general history. From the most ancient times downwards, all nations have directed their wishes and longings to gaining access to the treasures of this land of marvels, the most costly which the earth presents. treasures of nature-pearls, diamonds, perfumes, rose essences, lions, elephants; etc.-as also the treasures of wisdom. The way by which these treasures have passed to the West has at all times been a matter of world historical importance bound up with the fate of nations."

trial and revolutionary upheavals of the end of the eighteenth century, represented indeed a civilization on the march. It challenged the basis of Asian societies; it imposed its will on them and brought about social and political changes in Asia which are of fundamental importance. But to see in the commercial adventurism of the first three centuries of European contact the grand conception of an epic conflict between the East and the West is perhaps reading into past events the meaning of what happened much later."[1]

It may be mentioned in this connection that Britain was on the march only when almost the territorial conquest of India was over and when India had facilitated the growth of the Industrial Revolution in England. It is doubtful if Britain would have made much headway with its industrialization, without Indian territorial conquest[2] which ensured the supply of cheap raw material, the accumulation of capital[3] and a vast market.

Karl Marx's thesis on the conquest of India is revealing and deserve to be presented in short here. He drove home the idea that the English conquered India 'actuated solely by the spirit of gain' like the Dutch and that even the attempts to a social revolution in India by Britain was 'actuated by the vilest interest.'[4] He would not support the thesis that the Britishers never planned to conquer India. As a matter of fact, as early as 1689, they, according to him, conceived the establishment of a dominion in India, and of making territorial revenue one of their sources of emolument.'[5] He went further and imputed ulterior designs to the silence of British politicians on the issue in the following words[6] :—

"Thus the British Government has been fighting, under the Company's name, for two centuries, till at last the natural limits of India were reached. We understand now, why during all this time all parties in England have connived in silence, even those which had

1. Panikkar, K. M, *Asia and western Dominance*, PP. 18-19.
2. Adams, Brooks, *The Laws of civilization and Decay*, P. 260- "Had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together" for lack of sufficient capital to set them working.
3. Marx, *Capital* vol. 1., pp. 835-36",........chartered companies were powerful instruments in promoting...... concentratation of wealth...... the treasures obtained outside Europe by direct looting, enslavement and murder, flowed to the motherland (Britain) in streams and were there turned into capital".
4. Marx in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, dated the 25th June, 1853.
5. Ibid, dated the 11th July, 1853.
6. Ibid.

resolved to become the loudest with their hypocritical peace-cant, after the *arrondissement* of the one Indian Empire should have been completed. Firstly, of course, they had to get it, in order to subject it afterward to their sharp philanthropy."

Marx makes it further clear that the British conquest in India was pre-planned and not unintentional and unwilling as many historians would like us to believe. In fact all the articulate classes in the British Society had interests in it for entirely different purposes. As Marx puts it :—"The aristocracy wanted to conquer it, the moneycracy to plunder it, and the millocracy to undersell it."[1]

In contract to the views expressed there are writers who do not see any motive behind the whole endeavour and think that the 'British power, which came into being in this strangely unintentional way, has not of set purpose[2]'...To them there was no human planning and design behind it, and what and how Fate dictated it to be.[3]

Summing up, we find that one view regards the conquest as entirely unplanned lacking any purpose or design actuated by the compulsions of Fate alone. The other view sees logic and pattern in it, for some it is the outcome of a superior civilization on march; the others prefer such motives as greed for money, territory or markets.

It is in the above context that the writings of Kipling-historical and literary-have to be examined[4]. Even though primarily a literary genius he was captivated by the romance that was there in this theme and in course of his poems and stories had tried to rationalize the theme and advance explanations of what took place and how with what motives.

There might be another reason for Kipling's pre-occupation with the theme. He lived in an age when the conquest of India was already an accomplished fact, but his generation of English men in India as well as in Britain was busy discussing the nature of the conquest and the motives behind it. Such discussion was relevant as the Britishers wanted to make up their mind if they had to keep their hold on the Empire indefinitely or to prepare it for self-government and for being

1. ibid, dated the 8th August, 1853.
2. Muir, Ramsay, *The Making of British India*, p. 2.
3. ibid.
4. See the author's article 'Kipling's views on British Rule in India X-rayed in *The Searchlight*, dated the 24th September, 1963, for an analytical approach to the problem.

subsequently handed over to the Indians. A key literary figure of his time and interested in the Indian themes for his literature and in the Indian problem in general as Kipling was, it was but natural for him to enter into this Grand Debate through the medium of his literary writings. Besides, in a work of history meant for English school-children he expressed his own view about this phenomenon. It has to be seen if there exists any consistency of views in the various utterings of Kipling dispersed on a wide span. Attempts have also to be made to understand if Kipling put forward rational explanations, or whether he merely wove prejudiced ideologies round the theme or whether his writings were of the nature of the random ramblings of a literateur.

A study of extracts from Kipling's literature would bear these points. He has not only described the process of the British Conquest of India in detail but has also extensively depicted the extension of trade and the dangers involved therein. He writes as follows :

Where the Sober-coloured cultivator smiles
on his byles;
Where the cholera, the cyclone, and the crow
comc and go;
Where the merchant deals in indigo and tea,
Hides and ghi;
Where the Babu drops inflammatory hints
In his prints;
Stands a city-Charnock chose it—packed away
Near a Bay—
By the Sewage rendered fetid, by the sewer
Made impure;
By the Sunderbunds unwholesome, by the swamp
Moist and damp;
And the city and the viceroy, as we see,
Do not agree.
Once, two hundred years ago, the trader came
Meek and tame.
Where his timid foot first halted, there he stayed,
Till mere trade.
Grew to Empire, and he sent his armies forth
South and North,
Till the country from Peshawar to Cylon
was his own.
Thus the midday halt at Charnock-more's the pity;
Grew a city.

As the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed,
so it spread—
Chance-directed, chance-erected, laid and built
on the Silt.
Palace, byre, hovel,—poverty and pride—
Side by side;
And, above the packed and pestilential town,
Death looked down.
But the Rulers in that city by the sea
Turned to flee—
Fled, with each returning spring tide from its ills
To the Hills.
From the dammy fogs of morning, from the blaze
of the days,
From the sickness of the noontide, from the heat,
Beat retreat;
For the country from Peshawar to Cylon
was their own.
But the Merchant risked the perils of the Plain
for his gain
Now the resting-place of Charnock, 'neath the palms,
Asks an alms,
And the burden of its lamentation is,
Briefly, this :—
"Because, for certain months, we boil and stew,
"so should you.
"Cast the Viceroy and his Council, to perspire
"In our fire !"
And for answer to the argument, in vain
we explain.
That an amateur saint Lawrence cannot cry :-
"All must fry !"
That the Merchant risks the perils of the plain
for his gain.
Nor can Rulers rule a house that men grow rich in,
from its kitchen.
Though "out station orders punctually obeyed"
Swell Her trade
Still, for rule, administration, and the rest,
Simla's best.

In these lines he attempted to describe with clarity the process and nature of this conquest. The English were timid and meek at the start of their mercantile invasion. It was the lure of trade and the passion for commerce, and the consideration of gain not the ambition of territorial conquest that foamed the main motivating force behind the whole orbit of their activities. Soon after the policy of sticking fast to the sheet-anchor of a growing and lucrative trade and of escaping the tyranny at the hands of imperial officers, demanded the presence of a constant shadow of bayonet in order to pursue it successfully. In a word, the conquest, according to him, was not necessarily planned—a point which is duly emphasised by British historians[1]. The comparision makes it amply clear that Kipling in his poem feinged to strike an historical truism. The growing trade demanded territorial conquest, if the trade was to be kept safe and unhampered. This meant that the original policy of the British about trade without territory was trans-formed into a policy of trade with territory, as their experience suggested it.

This is the impression one gathers from the first stanza of the poems, but he comes out with an entirely different thesis when he tries to rationalize in the second stanza. There he explains this empire as not necessarily intentional in tune with the views held by certain historians. A note of inconsistency is apparent here as the same empire

1. (a) Muir, Ramsay, *The Making of British India*, p. 2. "The most astonishing and paradoxical thing of all in regard to this Empire is that the traders who made it never at any time planned or wanted it. They struggled against it. They regarded it as burden to be avoided, a distraction from their true business of buying and selling. Their chief representatives in India, with few exceptions, shared this view. They went out determined not to make conquests, breathing condemnations on their predlcessors who had given way to the temptings of ambition. And then Fate took them in hand; and they added provinces equal to European Kingdoms protesting all the while quite sincerely that they could not help it; and shamefacedly exculpating themselves from the reproaches of their embarrassed masters. Never was Empire less the result of design than the British Empire of India."

(b) Fisher. H. A. L., A *History of Europe*, p. 1020. "The conquest of India was never planned, but arose out of the need which English traders in that country experienced of creating the measure of order and settled justice without which commerce cannot flourish. The confusion of India which ensued upon the dissolution of the Mogul Empire gave the English an opportunity for which they had not sought....'India fell to British character'....".

(c) Smith, Cecil, *Main Currents in world History*, p. 150. "....Thus the process began by which a Trading Company almost unconsciously became a territorial power....eventually the Flag in this instance followed trade and British India was evolved"

could not have been created with the purpose of safeguarding the British trade and yet be unplanned. He has rightly emphasised the dangers involved in the pursuit of trade in India, He highlights such factors as the 'Swamp moist' and damp, 'pestilential town', the dammy fogs of morning, 'the sickness of the noontide. He repeatedly points out that the merchant risked the perils of the plain for his gain'. The difficulties in the pursuit of commerce are brought out in an another passage as well :—

As he puts the idea[1] :—

"But what have we gathered
With sweat and aching bones;
In flame beneath the tropics,
In frost upon the floe,
And jeopardy of every wind
That does between them go
And some we got by purchase,
And some we had by trade,
And some we found by courtesy,
Of Pike and Carronade —"

The vital role played by the Royal Navy in the conquest of Asia and Africa has been duly emphasised by all shades of historians. Kipling both as a historian and as a poet took proper cognizance of it. In his history book he has written, "what was it that gave us, a nation of less than eight millions of men, these amazing successes over a nation of at least twenty millions more naturally war-like, quite as brave, and much cleverer than ourselves? It was only one thing, sea power.... If you look back to the beginnings of things, you will see that it was Cromwell, it was Elizabeth, nay it was Henery the Eighth, and Henery the Seventh, who, by their early and wise care for our Navy won for us America and India ..[2]"

Again in emphasising the key role played by the Royal Navy, in capturing international trade Kipling exhibited his sense of history in the following lines :—

"Soon it was only in Britain that people could buy the goods of the Far East and the Far West, silk, coffee, tobacco, sugar, tea, spice. And at last only in Britain could they buy manufactured articles at all.

1. *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*, The Merchantmen, p. 173.
2. Fletcher, C.R.L, and Kipling, *A School History of England*, p. 195.

Even the very French men who fought us had to buy the clothes and suits they wore from English merchants"[1].

In his opinion, therefore, the maintenance of the proper strength of a powerful Navy was vital. "There is moreover a most serious danger behind. If England should ever be defeated in a great war at sea, it would be impossible for us to get our food at all, and our population would starve. Therefore at whatever cost to ourselves, it is our duty to keep our Navy so strong that it must be for ever impossible for us to be defeated at sea[2]".

It is significant to note that Kipling thinks that even the food of the British nation was at stake without the maintenance of a strong navy.

He repeated the identical ideas in his poetry as well. He illustrates the point in the following lines[3] :—

"We are going to fetch you your bread and your butter,
Your beef, pork and mutton, eggs, apples, and cheese,
We fetch it from Melbourne, Quebec and Vancouver,
Address us at Hobart, Hong Kong, and Bombay
Send out your big warships to watch your big waters,
That no one may stop us from bringing you food.
For the bread that you eat and the biscuits you nibble,
The sweets that you suck and the joints that you carve
They are brought to you daily by all us Big Steamers
And if any one hinders our coming you'll starve".

So far Kipling's views both as a poet and as a historian on the role played by the Royal Navy in the competition of commerce, and the conquest of the Empire are essentially identical and are well supported by all historians alike[4].

1. ibid, p. 210.
2. ibid, p. 235.
3. *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*, Big steamers, p. 765.
4. British historians have always regarded the vital role played by the British Royal Navy as cardinal in both defeating the Europeans in Asia and in conquering India. Even K. M. Panikkar in *India and the Indian ocean* analyses thus :-

P. 7, "In fact it may truly be said that India never lost her independence till she lost the command of the sea.... P. 12, "In the heyday of British supremacy of the seas Admiral Mahan drew attention to the dominating role that sea power has played in shaping.

P. 14, "British authority in India hangs on the thin thread of safe naval communications.

We get a detailed description of the whole process of commerce and conquest. Kipling did not withhold the truth when he gave the following factors as basically responsible for facilitating the conquest of India by Britain in the following lines[1] :—

"Our Indian Empire.........is not a coloney but a 'Dependency of the Crown'. The extension of our rule over the whole Indian peninsula was made possible first by the exclusion of any other European power (when we had once beated of the French there), and secondly by the fact that weaker states and princes continually called in our help against the stronger. From our three starting points of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, we have gradually swallowed the whole country ......Its early conquests had been made over the unwarlike races of Bengal and the South; next, in the reign of George III, over the gallant robbers who swarmed over the central points and were called Mahrathas. Early in Victoria's time we had to meet those magnificent fighters the Sikhs of the Panjab, and the fierce Afghan of the north-western mountains. Both gave us from time to time terrible lessons but British patience and courage triumphed over all. As we conquered them so we enrolled in our Indian army all the best fighting men of these various races; of that army the Sikhs are now the backbone; but the Afghans have still to be kept at bay beyond the nothern mountains. They are the 'tigers from the north'; and if our rule were for a moment taken away, they would sweep down and slay and enslave all the defenceless dwellers of the plains".

P. 71, "....an Empire in India created on these pillars of sea, ruled the Indian Ocean as a British Lake."

P. 72, "......in 1805, Great Britain was the only naval power in the world. It was the century in which it could legitimately be said that Britannia ruled the waves".

P. 83, "The history of the last three centuries has shown that any power which has unquestioned mastery of the sea and strength to sustain a land campaign can hold the Empire of India, monopolise her trade, and exploit her unlimited resources."

(b) Curzon also supports Kipling in attaching importance to the Naval power as follows :—"it was because of the interposition of the sea that England lost America; that the Dutch and the Portugise lost the greater part of their Indian Empires, that Napoleon equally with Rome experienced so many difficulties in Egypt, that the Mexican adventure of France and Austria ended in a fiasco, that Spain was robbed almost in a day of her possessions in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines". Quoted in ibid, pp. 17-18.

Smith, Cecil, *Main Currents in World History*, p. 150. France was defeated in India because "England retained the command of the sea".

1. Flechter, and Kipling, op. cit. p. 241.

The narrative focusses certain significant points in the process of the conquest, namely, the exclusion of the other European nations from the arena[1], and the persuit of the policy of divide and rule.

The latter point is a frank and realistic admission of an important truth and is corroborated by other historians as well[2]. No less significant is Kipling's acknowledgement of martial qualities of the Indian peoples, he speak of 'gallant' Maharattas and the magnificent fighter the Sikhs of the Punjab'.

Kipling is quite concious of the fact that it was Clive who founded the British Empire in India—a fact which shows his mature historical sense and is very much supported by other historians[3]. He expresses

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 146-150.
2. Marx, in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, dated the 5 July, 1857, writes thus :-
"The Roman *divide it impera* was the great rule by which Great Britain, for about one hundred and fifty years, contrived to retain the tenure of her Indian Empire. The antagonism of the various races, tribes, castes, creeds, and sovereignities the aggregate of which forms the geographical unity of what is called India, continued to be the vital principle of British supremacy. In later times, however, the conditions of that supremacy have undergone a change with the conquest of Scinde and the Punjab, the Anglo-Indian Empire had not only reached its natural limits, but it had trampled out the last vestiges of independent Indian states. All warlike native tribes were subdued, all serious internal conflicts were at an end, and the late incorporation of Oudh proved satisfactorily that the remnants of the so-called independent Indian principalities exist on sufferance only. Hence a great change in the position of the East India company. It no longer attacked one part of India by the help of another part, but found itself placed at the head, and the whole of India at its feet. No longer conquering, it had become the conqueror. The armies at its disposition no longer had to extend its dominion, but only to maintain it. From soldiers they were converted into policemen; 200000000 natives being curbed by a native army of 200000 men, officered by English men, and that native army, in its turn, being kept in check by an English army numbering 40000 only."
3. Smith, Cecil, *Main Currents in World History*, p. 151. "Clive's career gave us an Empire in India". Marx, *New-York Daily Tribune*, Dated the 11th July, 1853 "The war which subsequently broke out in the Carnatic had the effect of rendering them after various struggles, virtual sovereigns of that part of India. Much more considerable results arose from the war in Bengal and the victories of Clive". Fesher, H. A. L., *A History of Europe*, pp. 748, 761, 763. "Then it was made manifest that the sceptre of colonial dominion has passed from France to Britain. In India...thanks to the victories of Clive....., British influence was triumphant and unchallanged."

"The destiny of a huge continent was determined. In India Robert Clive had laid the foundations of that extraordinary polity......"

"A handful of Englishmen, inspired by Robert Clive, succeeded in demonstrating that a plan of political dominion.....could in effect be accomplished." Clive "founded an Empire."

thus[1] :- "Clive, who began life as a clerk, was the real founder of our Indian Empire."

Kipling further emphasised the role of Clive in the conquest of India and the role of the native princes in it as follows[2] :–

"In India, there is a similar story of conquest to be told. There, the native princes had, on the whole, inclined to the French side...... Clive......came up from Madras to avenge this (Black-Hole). He retook Calcutta, and won a victory, against odds of twenty-five to one. In the region of Madras our success was equally great; and in 1761 we took Pondicherry, and swept the French out of all India. All the native princes at once went over to our side."

Similarly in one of his poems Kipling made it amply elear what ultimately was the total outcome of a foreign invansion for the vanquished. Though written in a different context Kipling's theme bore testimony to the truth that much of the woes of India lay in the same. He wrote thus in his poem 'Danegold' A. D. 980-1016 :—

"It is always a temptation to an armed and agile nation,
To call upon a neighbour and to say:—
We invaded you last night—We are quite prepared to fight,
unless you pay us cash to go away,
It is always a temptation to a rich and lazy nation,
To puff and look important and to say:
Though we know we should defeat you, we have not the time to meet you.
We shall therefore pay you cash to go away.
And that is called paying the Dene-gold :—
But we have proved it again and again,
That if once you have paid him the Dane-gold
You never get rid the same."

Thus Kipling made it clear that once a nation was conquered, there was no question of the conquest being vacated willingly. There might be promises, but the temptation to sqeeze and exploit 'the rich and lazy' nation was too great for the victor to vacate it. The above lines referring to the Danish invasion on England give an idea of the policy that Britain had followed towards the Indian Princes. Many historians have told the same view with regard to the conquest of Indian States by the English.

It is amply rewarding to examine Kipling's views on the Rising of 1857 in this connection.[3] The Rising may be regarded as the first major

1. Fletcher and Kipling, *A School History of England* P. 193.
2. Ibid, 195.
3. Kipling and Fletcher, op., cit., p. 242.

violent reaction of various sections of the Indian community to the impact that they had by then experienced of the conquest of India which was almost complete by that time. With regard to the causes what Kipling regards as a mutiny in our army[1], he suggests two reasons : 'our (British) carelessness and mismanagement of the vast Empire[2] and

1. Like Kipling Fisher also believes that "the Mutiny was not a general rising, but was a military, partial in extent." Fisher, op. ct., p. 1022. "Fortunately, the Great Mutiny was a mutiny, and not a rebellion". Evans, *The Victorian Age*, p. 148.
2. Kipling's charge of "carelessness and mismanagement" of the British Empire by the Government is coroborated by many authorities.

A Retired Officer *The Mutiny in the Bengal Army*, p. 25, London (1857) "Though he might give signs of the military genius of a Hyder, ... he could never attain the pay of an English subaltern", Urquhart, D. *The Rebellion in India*, p. 34.

"The sepoy is esteemed an inferior creature. He is sword at. He is treated roughly. He is spoken of as a 'nigger'. He is addressed as a 'suar' or pig. ....The old men are less guilty as they sobur down. But the younger men seem to regard it as an excellent joke, and as an evidence of spirit and as a praiseworthy sense of superiority over the sepoy to treat him as an inferior animal." Verney, *The Shannon's Brigade in India*, pp. 41-42.

"..... a cause of the mutiny may be that in every British mind in India contempt for the natives is deeply rooted." Ahmad, Sir Syed, *The causes of the Indian Revolt*, pp. 41. 43, 67. Birjis Qadr, Wali of Lucknow expressed thus in his proclamation :-

"All the Hindoos and Mahomedans are aware that four things are dear to every man. 1st Religion, 2nd Honor, 3rd Life, 4th Property. All these four things are safe under a native government.....the English have become enemies of the four things......."

A Hindu, *The Mutinies, the Government and the People*, p. 36, Calcutta 1858, and Syed Ahmad's book, p. 35, emphasised that much discontentment was caused by the systematic exclusion of the natives from the official employment of a superior character.

Russel, *My Diary in India*, Vol.I, p. 278, "The corruption and mentality of our law-courts and subordinate law officers has of late years begun to be exposed........

Roberts n, *District Duties during the Revolt in the North-West Provinces of India in 1857*, pp. 135-37. expresses thus :-

"There is nothing amongst the agricultural population that creates a greater hatred of our rule than the facilities offered to the most unprincipled class of money-lenders in the world in oppressing an ignorant and careless peasantry.... I found that no class seem to have acted with so vindictive a hate against us as the smaller class of landholders whom the bunyahs had dispossessed through the medium of our courts."

Ahmad, Sir Syed, *The causes of the Indian Revolt*, p. 14 expressed that during the famine of 1837 a large number of starving orphans were fed and later converted to Christianity which made the Government unpopular.

Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. 1, pp., 83-84, held that the annexation of the Punjab, Satara, Thanshi, Tanjore, etc. made the native states suspicious and if there was still a vestige of lingering faith in British fairness, the annexation of oudh in 1856 completely removed it.

Mrs, Harris, *A Lady's Diary of the Suge of Lucknow*, p, 60, records, "we are now in a just punishment to our nation for the grasping spirit in which we

the religious fear among the Indians by the introduction of European inventions such as steam and the railway. Though striking an historical truth he did not analyse what he meant by the carelessness and mismanagement of the Empire. Even on the second point Kipling is supported by certain anuthorities.[1]

have governed India; The unjust appropriation of Oude being a finishing stroke to a long course of selfish seeking of our own benefit and aggrandesement"

Marx in The *New York Daily Tribune*, dated the 14th August, 1857, supports Kipling's thesis of mismanagement in the following words :-

"In 1848 the financial difficulties of the East India Company had reached that point that it became necessary to augment its revenues one way or the other. Then a minute in Council was published, in which was laid down the principle almost without disguise, that the only mode by which an increased revenue could be obtained was by enlarging the British territories at the expense of the native princes. Accordingly, on the death of the Rajah of Satara, his adoptive heir was not acknowledged by the East India Company, but the Raj absorbed in its own dominions. From that moment the system of annexation was acted upon whenever a native prince died without natural heirs. The principle of adoption the very corner-stone of Indian society--was systemetically set aside by the Government. Thus were forcibly annexed to the British Empire the Rajs of more than a dozen independent princes from 1848-54. In 1854 the Raj of Berar, ... and enormous treasures was forcible seized. Mr. Disraeli ends the list of forcible annexations with Oudh, which brought the East Indian Government in collision not only with the Hindus, but also with the Mohammedans.... ......the resumption of estates from their proprietors is not less than £ 500000 a year in the Presidency of Bengal ; £ 370000 in the Presidency of Bombay ; £ 200000 in the Punjab etc, Not content with this one method of seizing upon the property of the natives, the British Government discontinued the pensions to the native grandees, to pay which it was bound by treaty. 'This', says Mr. Disraeli, 'is confiscation by a new means, but upon a most extensive, startling and shocking scale.'"

Evans, *The Victorian Age*. pp. 147-48.

"In the last resort the rule of an alien Power imposing an alien set of value on a subject people must rest on force, however well disguised. The main cause of the Mutiny of 1857 was the failure of the authorities to realise the truth of this, and their constant failure to recognise that by their neglect a situation of great potential danger had come into being in India."

New-York Daily Tribune, dated the 14th August, 1857.

Marx further supports Kipling on the issue of religious fear being one of the causes of the Mutiny of 1857. He wrote, "upon these points Mr. Disraeli asserts the whole Question to hinge. Until the last ten years, he affirmed, the British Empire in India was founded on the old principle of *divide it impera*—but that principle was put into action by respecting the different nationalities of which India consis'ed by avoiding to tamper with their religion, and by protecting their landed property. The sepoy army served as a safety valve to absorb the turbulent spirits of the country. But of late years a new principle has been adopted in the government of India—the principle of destroying nationality. The principle has been realized by the forcible distruction of native princes, the disturbance of the settlement of the property, and the tampering with the religion of the people."

1. Again Marx, in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, dated the 15th July, 1857, gave the following as the immediate religious causes of the Mutiny :-

"The alleged cause of the dissatisfaction which began to spread four months ago in the Bengal Army was the apprehension on the part of the natives lest the government should interfere with their religion. The serving out of catridges the paper of which was said to have been greased with the fat of bullocks and pigs, and the compulsory biting of which was, therefore, considered by the natives as an infrigenement of their religious prescriptions, gave the signal for local disturbances.... on the 25th of February, the 19th Natives Regiment mutinied at Berhampore the men objecting to the catridges served out to them."

The Mutiny in the Bengal Army, p. 4.

"Almost all the mutinies of India, whether in Bengal or else where, have been more or less produced, or at least have had in some sort the initiave, from ourselves. There has usually been some departure from contract, some disregard of the feelings, health or convenience of the native soldiers, when at the same moment the utmost care was lavished on a European regiment; some unwise tampering with their religious views or prejudices: some interference with their pay or rights...."

Kipling's feeling that even the introduction of railways was suspiciously looked upon by Indians was partly correct and is dittoed by historians of repute S. N. Sen in *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* p. 14-15, confirms thus :—"While people looked with suspicion upon any work of public utility, the railway and the telegraph among others. as a subtle means of subverting the social order, their apprehension unfortunately found confirmation in a circular letter issued by Mr. Edmond in 1855. In the railway train no caste distinction was made in the seating arrangements and the high caste Brahmin had to sit in the contaminating proximity of the low caste untouchable. During the journey he had either to fast or to break the customs that governed his daily meals and to omit the rituals attending them ; and this constituted a serious lapse requiring a ceremonial penance which sometimes taxed his purse. It was believed that this was the prelude to the casteless society of the accurse Kali age which the mlechha rulers were predicted to sponsor. Mr. Edmond proclaimed in his letter that as the different parts of the country had been brought nearer by rapid means of communication and the structure of society was being gradually modified under the influence of western education, it was time for the entire people to profess a common faith and attain salvation." (*To be Concluded*)

THE FARMĀNS OF BĀBUR, HUMĀYŪN AND SHER SHĀH

BRAHMADEVA PRASAD AMBASHTHYA

The paper is based on five farmāns, one of Bābur, the other of Humāyūn and the remaining three of Shér Shāh. What is pertinent to note here is that the two farmāns of Shér Shāh, dated A. H. 948 and 950 respectively, and the other two, one of Bābur and the next one of Humāyūn, relate to the renewal of the grant of land in favour of Qāzī 'Abdul Ḥalīm, son of Qāzī 'Abduṣ Samad, and their brothers, originally made by Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī and then allowed to continue as such by his son, namely, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī. The land in grant was the madad-i-ma'āsh land i.e. fief for charitable purpose, and it was exempt from all taxations and lay situated in village Sutianah in parganah Dhakdhar in the district of Jālandhar in the Punjāb. Out of these five documents, the original of the two in their photo-copies issued by Shér Shāh, have been published in the volume of the Oriental College Magazine, May, 1933, and they require a fresh study here in view of the fact that decipherments of the Persian therein have not been satisfactory as they suffer from faulty readings. As these two documents are bilingual, their Hindi portions have not at all been deciphered and published therein, The author of the article in the said magazine, however, claimed to have read the Hindi portions with the help of eminent orientalist like Dr. Raghubir, now the deceased, and others and which helped a good deal in the decipherment of the published Persian portions. As such, attempt has been made here to re-study[1] the said two photo-copies in the aforesaid journal, both Persian and Hindi portions. A close perusal of the Hindi portions of the documents throws a flood of light on the character of Hindi as a language which was then in existence as well as the evolution of its Devanagri script. The Hindi script has found in the documents under study here, was an admixture of present Hindi words sprinkled in a considerable volume with a local script, still in use and known as Kaithī. Apart from script, the Hindi portions of the docu-

1. I am grateful to Prof. S. H. Askary, my revered teacher, and Jagdishwar Pandey, the decipherment officer in Sanskrit in K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute Patna, for their valuable assistance in the decipherment of the Persian & Hindi portion of these two documents of Sher Shāh.
I am grateful to Shrimati Madhuri Agrawal, M. A. Ph.D., Patna Museum, Patna, for her assistance rendered to me in this paper.

ment are mere servile repetitions of the Persian text verbatim with the latter's vocabulary and fail to possess anything distinctively of its own to reflect independently its Hindi textual character.

Then again a study of these documents reflect the less developed form of a high-flown, ornate and less informative character of the Persian text of the Mughal farmāns of Bābur and Humāyūn as against those of Akbar and his successors which give us ample opportunity to study the terminologies used under the heads of taxation, then in prevalence in the agrarian economy. One also gets good opportunity to notice the more business-like character of the text of the farmāns issued by the premier Afghān monarch like Shér Shāh as against the high-flown and ornate Persian text of the farmāns issued by Mughal emperors since Akbar, the taint of which is quite noticeable even in the case of the earlier farmāns issued by the first two great Mughal emperors in Hindūstān, viz., Bābur and Humāyūn, despite the latter's heavy pre-occupations with constant wars and strife in their newly conquered kingdom in Hindūstān which gave them very little of opportunity to concentrate themselves on developing the organisations of administrative structure.

There is one more unpublished and, still more, an earlier farmān of Shér Shāh studied in this paper and that is dated Sha'bān 28, A. H. 947, drawn up at Sahsarām. This document is very interesting in view of the fact that it is an authenticated copy of the original, renewed in the month of rabī'-us-ṣānī, A. H. 968 (Dec. 20, A.D. 1560—Jan. 17, A. D. 1561) i. e. in the period of the defacto soverignty of Sulaimān Karārānī in the eastern provinces of Bihār, Bangāl and Orissā.

An effort has been made to study these three documents of Shér Shāh chronologically, and while doing so, the other two documents of Bābur and Humāyūn have been taken due cognizance of at the proper place.

1. The unpublished farmān of Shér Shāh is dated Sha'bān 18, A. H. 947[1].

The English translation :

Let it be known to the present officers of parganah Śandelah, namely, bin Mubārak Khān Jalāl Sarwānī, the mūnṣif, and Ḥaidar

1. Dec; 18, A. D. 1540, Cf. Pillai, I. E., Vol, V, P. 283. For the photo copy of the farmān and its deciphered copy, please see Annexture "A": at its close. The documente is available in U. P. Gvot, Archives at Allahabad.

Matīn[1] Dudakharī......Karārāni, the Shiqdār, and the future officers and kārkuns of the (said) administrative unit and parganah that thirty bīghas of cultivable land and (thirty bīghas of) fallow land, situated in village Ḥamīdpūr of the said parganah, have been conferred upon the grantee (Mubārak[2] by name) by way of reward (in'ām) and they were to recognize the same as such. The officers were directed to treat the grantee exempt from all civil taxes and were not to demand the same, provided the grantee was to take up the abode there (Ḥamīdpūr) and bring the same under cultivation, offer his prayer for five times in the mosque in congregations, keep himself engaged with the exercise of arrow-shooting[3] and discharge all the services in the teḥṣīl and tappah as assigned by the shiqdār, whomsoever the shiqdār directs to march against the mischief-mongers. The shiqdār was not to expect anything more beyond the aforesaid.

Dated, shahr sha'bān 28. A. H. 947; May God bless him. The farmān was drawn up in the city of Sahsarām. The grant of land as per its possession belonged to Shaikh Muḥammad.

On the top of the document, there is a seal which is quite indistinct in the photo and defies its decipherment in a large measure. Below the seal to its left is recorded significantly enough, that in consonance with the possession coming from the remote past on the authority of the exalted farmān, it was renewed in the month of rabī'-us-sānī, A. H. 968[4]. Its renewal in A. H. 968 is an indication of the fact that it was done by Sulaimān Khān Karārānī, the wielder of defacto authority to all intents and practical purposes in the three eastern subahs of Bihār, Bangāl & Orissā then and which formed his prineipality. The very fact that the farmān of Sher Shah was renewed by Sulaimān Khān Karārāni meant that the imperial authority, short of formal declaration, was assumed by Sulaimān Khān Karārānī who held it all through his life until his death in A. D. 1572 by his tact and sheer skill. This confirms the chronicles of Akbar's reign which recorded that Sulaimān Khān Karārānī was as good as a sovereign power in the eastern provinces of Bihār, Bangāl & Orissā, but he was shrewd enough not to assume for himself in open the insignia of royalty and which he always pretended

1. The Hindi portion of the document, dated Sha'bān 28, A. H. 947, clearly records it as Matīn. In the Persian portion of the document it may be read as Matīn or Mabīn because of the absence of dots.
2. This is evident from the Hindi portion of this farmān, line 4, dated sha'bān 28, A. H. 947.
3. The farmān uses the word figuratively as dah dah tīr andāzad,
4. Dec. 20, A. D. 1560-Jan. 17, A. D. 1561. Pillai, I. E., Vol. V, PP. 323-4;

to bear forth in favour of emperor Akbar, a sheer expediency to keep this Mughal emperor in good humour and thereby avoid confrontation. His younger son and ultimate successor, namely, Dāūd Khān Karārānī forgot the wise policy of his father in avoiding confrontation with this great Mughal emperor, and assumed in open his independence and the result was his Waterloo in the battle of Rājmaḥal in A. D. 1576, resulting in his final extinction and effacement from the very existence.

Another important feature of the document is the directive to all, be they Govt. servants or tenants, to render services to shiqdār in marching against mischief-mongers. when called upon by the shiqdār to do so. This confirms and substantiates the version of A'bbās in Tārīkh-i-Shér Shāhī how Farīd, when in the charge of his father's Jāgīr at Sahsarām, utilized the service of his able bodied subjects in his operation against the defiant rāīyat and zamīndārs.

2. The farmān of Shér Shāh is dated rajab 13, A. H. 948.[1]

The English translation:—

(Let it be known to)[2] Hahi,[3] the present shiqdār and the future amils[4] of parganah Dhakdhar[5] that out of the imperial territorial divisions,[6] (six hundred)[7] bighas of land, three hundred bīghas

1. Oriental College Magazine, May, 1933 Photo-copy No. 2, found after P. 114. Rajab 13, A. H. 948-Nov. 2, A. D. 1541; Cf. Pillai, I. E., Vol. V, p. 285: For the photo copy of the farmān and its deciphered copy, please see the Annexture "B" at its close.
2. The afore-said portions in the photo copy No, 2, enclosed after p. 114, Oriental College Magazine, 1933, are worm-eaten.
3. This is no other than Chāhi, the shiqdār, as is quite distinctly evident from farmān no. I of Sher Shah, dated 25 jamādī II, A. H. 950 (Sept 25, A. D. 1543). cf photo copy No. 1, enclosed after p.114, Oriental College Magazine, May, 1933.
4. Revenue-collector in a pargnah.
5. Wrongly printed as Dhakdha in Oriental College Magazine, May, 1933, p. 125 In the photo copy No. 2, after p. 114 in the said magazine it is quite distinct as Dhakdhar. Dhakdhar is in Jālandhar district in the Punjāb Cf. Punjāb Dist. Gazetteer, pp. 246-303, 1904 ed.
6. The Persian word used in the farmān no, II appended after p. 114, Oriental College Magazine, May. 1933 is (Sha'ib Sultāni, On p. 125, this magazine, while deciphering the document, has inserted here the word Kazā. "Like this, such, such like, such and such" But there is no occasion for its insertion here which could have been rendered expedient only to make the meaning explicit,

   Sha'ib, according to Persian English dictionary by Steingass, meant "traveller's-bag in two divisions" Figuratively speaking, it meant here administrative divisions of Sher Shāh, for qalqshandi recorded that from Cairo till the place where the course of the river Nile came to its close, there were three Sha'ib and seven 'amā's Cf. Oriental College Magazine; May, 1933, p. 123.
7. The Hindi portion of the farmān under study clearly recorded it as six hundred bighas.

were cultivable land and three hundred bīghas were fallow, situated in the village of Sutianah in the aforesaid parganah, had been coming in the possession, as usual since the time of Sulṭān Sikandar, of dignified and helpful malik, Qāzī[1] 'Abdul Ḥalīm by name, (the son of) 'Abduṣ Samad, Qāzī Majd-ud-dīn, the Khaitib,[2] Qazī 'Amād, the memorizer of the holy Qurān. On the basis of the aforesaid (farmān of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi), a farmān as per the order of the exalted Solomon (i. e. Shér Shāh) has been drawn np, allowing the grantees to remain in possession of the same in future with effect from A. H. 948. (A. D. 1541). The officers were directed to hand over to them the land[3] after measuring it with Shér Shāhī gaz,[4] the land in grant being 300 bīghas cultivable and 300 bīghas fallow. The grantees were directed to take up thier abode and habitation in the place where lay the fief or charity land (āimagān).[5] No deviation should be made therein. Since the aforesaid holders of the charity land had made divisions of the same among themselves, the officers were directed to see the positions of the land, acknowledge the same and safeguard the rights of the absentee among the said land-holders. The aforesaid beneficiaries be left in the possession of the same with effect from the date of the issue of the document in futurity. The officers were to know that the aforesaid have been exempted from all taxes and they must not be called upon for fresh renewal. The farmān was drawn up on rajab *24*, A. H. 948.[6].

On the margin:—Authenticated on rajab 13, A. H. 948.[7]

On the other side of the farmān, the names of the beneficiaries had been recorded and each of them had been shown the area of the lands. both cultivable and fallow, granted in particular village of the parganah.

This farman of Sher Shāh is a renewal of the earlier farmān of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī. The document indicates the practices of granting

1. That Qāzī 'Abdul Halīm was the son of Qāzī 'Abduṣ Samad, is quite evident from the farmān of Bābur discussed below in this paper at appropriate place.
2. Rea er of p-ayer at the mosque.
3. From the Hindi por ion of the document, the land on measurement was to come to six hundred bīghas.
4. 32 digits. Su tan Sikandar Lodī gaz in its breadth had 41½ sikandaris. Akbar's Ilāhi gaz was of 41 digits, cf. Āīn, J & S, II, p. 66.
5. Aīmma is th plural of imām who leads the pr y r in the mosque.
6. N v, 13, A D. 1541; Cf Pillai, I. E., Vol. V, p, 285.
7. Nov. 2, A. D. 1541; Cf. Pillai, I. E., Vol. V, p. 285, Authenticated preceded the issue of the farmān.

It is quite likely that he was probably no other than Shaikh Khalīl, referred to by Jhuhar[1] as the descendent of Shaikh Farīd Shakrganj. Jauhar further wrote that Humāyūn had sent Shaikh Khalīl as his envoy to Shér Shāh at Chausah in A.H. 946 (A. D. 1539) to finalize the terms of peace. But Shaikh Khalīl ultimately stayed with Shér Shāh, when the latter played upon his sentiment for the Afghān. Hence it was that Shaikh Khalīl was present with Shér Shāh in the latter's siege of Kālinjar in A. H. 952 and in the blast that followed there, both Shér Shāh and Shaikh Khalīl were mortally wounded.

4. Farmān of Muḥammad Zahīr-up-dīn Bābur bādshāh,[2]

English translation.

Let the noted nobles and minssters, economising administrators of affairs, the superintendents of public acts and occupation and the sureties for the affairs of the govt. of Tātār Khān and others know that at the time the farmān which is obligatory on all, has been put into execution by the imperial grace to the effect that the villages, lands and stipends assigned to the grantees concerred as per the sanad of Sultān Ibrāhīm (Lodī) which was itself in accordance with the mandate issued by Sultān Sikandar (Lodī), has been settled with the venerable Qāzī" 'Abdul Ḥalīm, the son of Qāzī' 'Abdus Samad, and the brothers of the said Qāzī and their descendants. From the day the farmān was issued, I (Babur) alloted and granted the same and ordered that the produce thereof in accordance with those given therein should be utilized as means of subsistence (wajah-i-maash) of their own and for. the sake of augmentation, tithe, da'roghānah and shiqdārānah they should place no obstruction. It behoves them to settle the aforesaid with them, allowing them to remain in possession of the same. They should treat the grantee as exempt from all taxations and all the obligations of civil and imperial govt. None should be allowed access to them and the whole should be left in the possession of the aforesaid. They should not keep them (the grantees) in need of seeking fresh renewal year after year of the farmāns and Parwānchan, When the exalted mandate reaches them, they should put utmost trust in it. Written Muḥarram 1, in the imperial metropolis at Āgrah.

1. T. W., tr., p. 17, ed. 1832
2. Ori n al C ll ge M gazine, May, 1933, For the Persian text, please see Annexture "D" at its close

On the back of the farmān, only the details of the land in grant have been given.

5. Farmān of Humāyūn Badshāh.[1]

English translation.

The farmān of the exalted (emprror Humāyūn)

Let it be known with affect from Zīqa'dah[2] 27, A. H. 960, to the brothers (of emperor Humāyūn), invested with the virtues of Solomon and Alexandar, and the sons of the auspicious augury and success, the victorious and magnificently sublime ṣadrs, economising ministers and functionaries, the superintendents of (public) affairs and occupations, and the mutaṣaddīs (lower officials) of the village of Māchīvarāh,[3] (Parganah) Darbak, situated in the govt. of Tātār Khān,[4] that at this time a farmān, worthy of obedience, has been issued out of imperial favours and enforced. It is to the effect that as per order the offices of the Qazī (Judge) and Khatīb (a reader of prayers at the mosque) in the aforesaid villages have been respectively assigned to the greatly learned and the embodiment of excellence and command, namely, Qāzī Bahā-un-dīn, the son of Qāzī Ilahdād, and the eminently pious and honest Qāzī 'Abdul Ḥalīm, the son fo Qāzī 'Abdus Samad, and that they were as such to assame the onerous charges there from the beginning of the date. And since for a long time they have been associated with the important affairs and have discharged their duties to the best of their ability, they should treat their administration as strong and absolutc, and on no account and in no way they should deviate from their good and proper counsel which is in accordance with the divine law and good creed. The aforesaid important matters should be allowed to remain absolutely

1. Oriental College Magazine, May, 1933. For the Persian text, please see Annexture "E" at its close.
2. Nov. 4, A. D. 1553, Cf. I. E. Pillai, I. E., V, p. 309. Oriental College Magazine, May, 1933, p. 119 in the foot-note has recorded that the date deciphered wrongly in the text as A.H. 609 really stands for A.H. 960, as the date in the farmān has by mistake been read in a reverse order as A. H. 609.
3. Māchīvāarh is on the Sutlaj in Sarhind belt. Cf. Erskine, Babur & Humāyun, pp. 499, & 515.
4. Tātār Khān was the Afghān General of Sultān Sikandar Sūrda who was defeated at Māchiwārah by Bairam Khān ultimately in A. D. 1555. Cf. Erskine, Bābur & Humāyūn, II. pp. 498-9. By the implication, the document under study gives us to know that Tātār Khān had as early as Nov. A. D. 1553 lost his hold on Māchīwārah in parganah Darjak which had then passed to emperor Humāyūn.

in their hands. As regaids the documentary deeds, records and their judicial decrees in matters of the division of inheritance, confiscation of the orphan's property, contracting marriage with or without guardian, whatever have been assigned to them should be treated as obligatory and there should be no deviation and alteration from the rules and regulations of the aforesaid personages. The officers were directed to carry out the order in this respect and were not to interfere or inter-meddle with the aforesaid order. The said two grantees were given to know that they were to act in concert with each other, while exercising scruple in dealing with important affairs relating to the said records and documents, and each of the two was to take the other to be duly authorized. They were directed to exercise their assigned duties with proder care and caution so that they might go scot-free on the day of judgment. They were to act accordingly. The great, exalted and elevated farmān, whenever issued, was to be confided in by them (Qāzī and Khtīb). The officers were not to demand the renewal of the new farmān and parwānchah every year and were directed not to make any deviation in the matter.

Issued from Chaharbāgh in the capital at Āgrah.

In the schedule the following has been recorded :—

Under the seal of the deceased nawab Bairam Khan, pertaining to the appointment of Qāzī Majd-ud-dīn and Qāzī Imād with effect from Shahr 9, A. H. 960[1], stating that sinee Qazi Majd-ud-din had been holding the office of Qāzī in parganah Dardak from before by virtue of the earlier sanad, the said two personages had been appointed as such by virtue of a farmān with effect from the said date, directing that the two were to be approached to dispose of all such cases that concerned the religious laws in Islām.

This farmān no doubt nowhere records in so many words to make specific mention of Humāyūn. But this becomes quite evident from the date as zīqa'dah 27, A. H. 960 (Nov. 4, A. D. 1553), the date of the issue of the farmān in favour of the appointment of Qāzī Bahā-ud-dīn and Qāzī 'Abdul Ḥalīm as the Qāzī and Khatīb respectively in the

1. Sept. 18, A. D. 1553. Oriental College Magazine, May, 1933, p. 120, has recorded the date as A. H. 609 in the text of the document, & in the foot-note there a note has been given to the effect that this date actually stands for A. H. 960. This meant that the date in the original document has been inversely read, although wrongly, at the time of decipherment, or that in the farmān itself it has been inversely recorded, thanks to the scribe's devil.

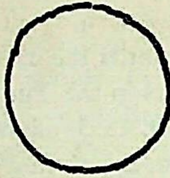
village of Māchīwārah and (parganah) Dardak, when emperor had entered into the northern-western frontiers of Hindūstān after his return from exile in Persia towards the close of A. D. 1553[1] and was then in the land of the Gakhars in the Punjāb. Only about two months before, i. e. on Sept. 18, A. D. 1553 (shawwāl 9, A. H. 960) emperor Humāyūn had issued a farmān, appointing Qāzī' Imād and Qāzī Majd ud-dīn as the Qāzīs in parganah Dardak, and this document bore the seal of Bairam Khān, the grand noble of emperor Humāyūn. Thus all these appointments were made by emperor Humāyūn just after his entry into the land of Gakhars in the Punjāb. As such, this document has got great historical value of its own in as much as these two farmāns were issued by emperor Humāyūn even before Sultān Sikandar Sūr could be decisively defeated at the battle of Sarhind, fought on June 22, A. D. 1555, which ensured the easy entry of this Mughal emperor into Delhi on July 23, A. D. 1555. This showed that Humāyūn had assumed himself all the ensignia of the royalty as early as A. D. 1553, even before he could defeat his adversary Sultān Sikāndar Sūr.

The document, on its perusal, shows that formally this farmān was issued by the emperor Humāyūn from Chahārbāgh,[2] situated as a garden on the bank of Jamunā at Āgrah. This garden was originally built by emperor Bābur This meant that the aforesaid two earlier farmāns of emperor Humāyūn. dated shawwāl 9, A. H. 960 and zīqa'dah 27, A. H. 960, came to be fully regularized by the issue of this farmān under study from Chahārbāgh in Āgrah, when he entered this historic city which was a metropolis for the Indian monarchs.

2, Jaūhar, Tazkirat-ul-Wāqi'āt, tr. by Stewart, pp. 100-7

3. Cf. For Chahārbāgh in Āgrah, see Abdul Latif, Agrah, p. 11.

ANNEXTURE—"A"



بشرط قبض و عمل قدیم دریں باب
فرمان عالی شان عنایت ... خواہد گشت
قلمی نماید بتاریخ شہر ربیع الثانی سنہ ۹۶۸

عہدہ داران از حال باسمہ بن مبارک خان جلال سروانی منصف

وحیدر متعین و روا کھاری کروانی شقدار پرگنہ سندیلہ و عہدہ داران

وکارکنان استقبال خطہ و پرگنہ . . . .

. . . . : شیر شاہی منجملہ موضع حمید پور اعمال پرگنہ مذکور در وجہ انعام

ابتدائے باسمی شد . . . . مسطور تعین فرمودہ

شدہ است ۵ بیگہ مزروع افتادہ . . . . . . : . . .

بیگہ بیگہ

مسطور است معین دانند و ہموارہ تسلیم نمایند و از جمیع جہات دیوانی

معاف و بے طلب دانند بشرط آنکہ . . . . . . آبادان و متوطن شود

و پنج وقت نماز با جماعت در مسجد ادا کردہ و بعد نماز ظہر دہ دہ تیر اندازد

. . . . ہر خدمت تحصیل و پٹہ وغیرہ کہ شقدار فرماید بکنند

و ہر گاہ کہ شقدار بر سر مفسدان رسولان برائے تنبیہ فرستادند

. . . شقداران دریں باب زیادہ تاکید نطلبد

الثامن والعشرین شہر شعبان سنہ سبعہ واربعین وتسعمایة

ہجرة النبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم

بمقام بلدہ سہسرام

بموجب فیض شیخ محمدی تعلق دارد

ANNEXTURE—"A"

(3)

The unpublished farman of Sher Shah, dated 28 Sh'aban, A. H. 947



ANNEXTURE—"A"

१. ··· ··· ··· अजहाल इस्महु मबारक खां जलाल सरवानी मोनसीफ हैदर मोती डोडा खारी सीकदार··· ··· ···

२. जातै त जनौ हो मफत जतीं कीररानी सीकदार परगनै सन्दीला वोहदारानी वो कारकुनानी इसत—

३. (कवाल) खित्तं परगनै मजकुर वोफतादा श्रो साठी बीगहा जमीन मजरुवो अफतादा बीगज शेरशाही मोः मीनजुमले हमीदपुर

४. ··· ··· ··· ··· ···दरवोजह इनाम इबतदाह बः इस्मी मवारक अदल तालिम ऐलिम अस्त इस्तकवाल तह

५. फरमुदा सुद अस्त । बीगहा ६०ऽ मजरुआ ३०ऽ अफतादा ३०ऽ बाजाफी जमीन मजकुर वीदानंद

६. ··· ··· ··· मोज ··· ··· श्रो पैमुद तसलिम नुमायंद श्रो (अज) जमे हवुबाती दीवानी माफ वेतलब दानंद बीशत्ति

७. ··· ··· ··· शबै मस्तुर आबादा मोतवतीन शबद वो पांच वोक्त नीमाज बा जमीयत

८. (दर मसजिद अदाकर्दंब) द २ (जोहर) नावा (निमाज) दश दश तीरन्दाजद ··· ··· ··· कसरतीं कै बलावै जब जब सिकदार मफ—

९. सिदान वर सेरा··· ··· दरीवाव जिम्रादा ताकीद न तलवदु ता. १८ साबान सन सीबा

१०. (अरवइन तसा) म्यव हा नगी (वी) शेख महम्दा ताल्लुकदार मोतालिक सहसराम

ANNEXTURE—"B"

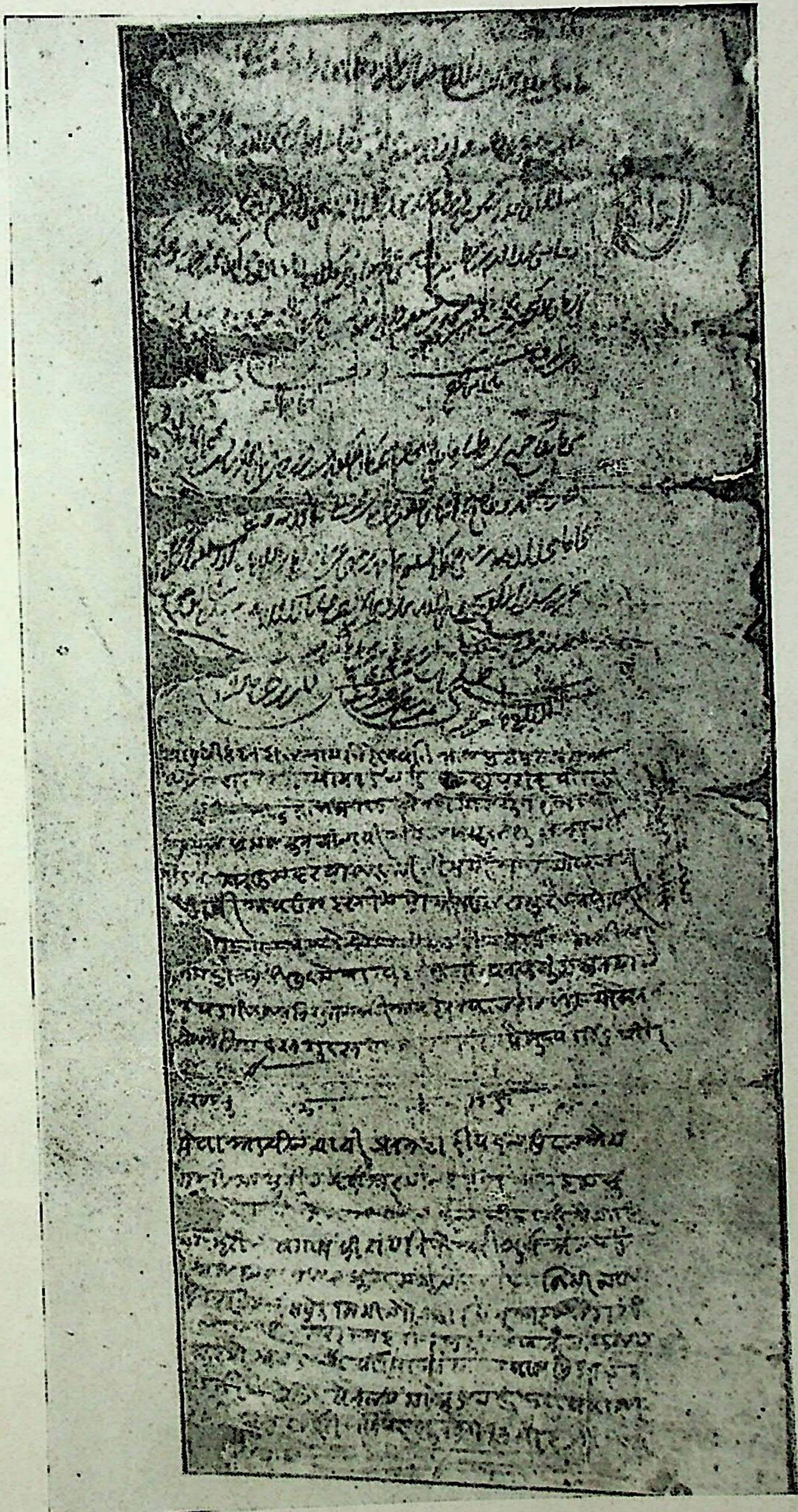
نقل فرمان شیر شاه

حاسبے شقدار حال و عاملان استقبال پرگنه دهکدهار از شعب
سلطانی بیگه زمین مزروعه و افتاده به تعیین موضع سوتیانه اعمال
پرگنه مذکور چنانچه عمل معموله سلطان سکندر مرحوم در وجه ملک نوید
مخلد باسم قاضی عبد الحلیم بن عبد الصمد و قاضی مجد الدین خطیب
و قاضی عماد حافظ کلام ربانی بوده می آید پیران بر حکم فرمان بندگی
حضرت سلیمانی از استقبال سنه ۹۴۸ھ مقرر تقسیم داشته شده است
بگز شیر شاهی پیموده بدهند مزروعه (۳۰۰) سه بیگه افتاده (۳۰۰) سه بیگه
می باید که چنانچه بشرطها ماندن و بودن ائمه مذکورین در ضمن فرمان صادر گشت
همچنان نمایند از آن تجاوز نکنند و بدانچه ائمه گان مذکورین تا حال قسمت
واری خورده آمده فاما محال دیده زمین مذکور تسلیم نمایند زمین غیر حاضر امانت
بدارند از استقبال هرچه در تحریر سند از مذکور مردے راندهند و آن
خالی بگذارند من کل الوجوه بے طلب معاف دارند و درین باب مزید
تاکید نه طلبند — الرابع والعشرین من شهر رجب مرجب سنه ۹۴۸ھ

فرمان مرجبیده لم

صحیح سند مورخه رجب ماه ۱۳ سنه ۹۴۸ھ

ANNEXTURE—"B"



The farmān of Sher Shāh, dated Rajab 13, A. H. 948



ANNEXTURE—"B"

The farman of Sher Shah Bādshāh

ANNEXTURE—"B"

مزروعہ
ستے ستاو سے بیگہ

اوفتادہ
ستے ستاو سے بیگہ

[باسم] باسم

باسم ....

ومناکحت وقاضی مجدالدین خطیب
وقاضی عما حافظ [کلام] ربانی
منجملہ موضع سوتیانہ
[مزروعہ] افتادہ
اسا بیگہ لما بیگہ

عمل معمورہ
[ما] بیگہ
مزروعہ افتادہ
ما بیگہ ما بیگہ

موضع مجورالہ اعمال
پرگنہ مذکور عمل معمورہ
[ما] بیگہ
مزروعہ [افتادہ] ما
ماسے بیگہ ماسے بیگہ

شیخ اسما
....
منجملہ پرگنہ مذکورہ
افتادہ [مزروعہ]
ماسے بیگہ ماسے بیگہ

باسم
قاضی ..... کرد منجملہ
موضع اعمال ..... مضافات
....
پرگنہ مذکور عمل معمورہ
ما بیگہ
مزروعہ افتادہ
[ما] بیگہ سما بیگہ

یا باسم
شیخ رزق اللہ وفتح اللہ
پسر شیخ ......
بابو وحسین وجلال
امان اللہ وعمرہ [حمزہ ؟]
ویوسف وعثمان باشر کائیہم
منجملہ موضع سیابور (؟)
اعمال پرگنہ مذکور
اسا بیگہ
مزروعہ افتادہ
ما بیگہ ما بیگہ

یا باسم
ابناء قاضی ولی اللہ
بن عبدالرحیم منجملہ
موضع سرہائی مرہی
اعمال پرگنہ مذکور عمل معمورہ
سما بیگہ
مزروعہ افتادہ
ماسے بیگہ ماسے بیگہ

یا باسم
سعید عبدا ......
مزروعہ ......
....

ANNEXTURE—"B"

باسم

[مو]لانا ا دهو لبسر الطف
[...]نه موضع سلکهنپور
اعمال
پرگنه مذکور] عمل معموره
مار بیگه
[مز]روعه افتاده
[...]بیگه صا بیگه

باسم

[مو]لانا الیاس کلالی
[...]جمله موضع ترالو اعمال پرگنه
مذکور ابتدا ماس (؟)
سما بیگه
مزروعه افتاده
ماصه بیگه ماصه بیگه

باسم

شیخ عبدالرحیم اوصل
باشرکا ئهم منجمله موضع
رانپور [ر ؟]
مزروعه بهدری [؟]
اعمال پرگنه مذکور
عمل معموره سمار بیگه
مزروعه افتاده
صا بیگه صا بیگه

باسم

مولانا اسحاق وبهووه
پسران عبدالمجید باشرکا ئهم
موضع حاکمزرعه (؟)
ماکحه بیگه
مزروعه افتاده
سابیگه سابیگه

باسم

مولانا عبدالله ...
باشرکا ئهم
عمل معمو[ره ...
مزروعه .....
ماصه بیگه

باید که تشخص نمایند اگر زمین عمل
معموره از عهد سلطان سکندر
بوده می آید لبده چنج در صدر مستور
[مسطور] است معین دانیده [کذا]
و بیج
از جمیع حبوبات معاف و بی طلب دانند
واگر از عهد سلطان
معموره در قبض و تصرف نباشد
معین نسازند و ندهند
باب بی (؟)

در پرگنه دهکدهار ابادان و متوطن شوند و پنج وقت [نماز] در مسجد بگزارند و بعد از نماز ظهر ده ده تیر بانداز ند
واگر مفسدی پیدا شود و شقدار بدا ...... شنود اسامی مذکورین نیز برابر شقدار برو ند و تسلیم
زمین مزروع در سال ۹۴۷ بدهند السابع من شهر ذی الحجه سنه سبع واربعین و تسعمایه پروانگی صلح کر ...
از مقام خطه سهرنده متعلق ملک ....

ANNEXTURE—"B"

१. चाहे सीकदार हाल आमलि इस्तेवलि (इस्तकवाल) ······प्र. ढ़कढ़ार अज
२. शैव सुलतानी मोकर (र) ६४८ (ह) छत्र सह बीगहा
३. (जमीन मजरुआ) ओफतादा ······ मौजे सुती आना
४. अमाल प्र. मजकुर नुनांची अमल मामूला शूलतान सी-
५. कन्दर मरहूम दरवोजह मीलीक मोअवइद (वो) मोखल्लद
६. वइस्मी अवदुल हलीम पे/(पेसर) अबदुल शमुद दर वो का–
७. जी (मजदु) दीन खतीव वो काज़ी इमाद हाफिज क—
८. लाम रअन्नी (रब्बानी) बूद मे (मी) आयद पैमुरा वरहुकुम फरमान
९. वन्दगी हजरति सुलेमानी अज इसतकवाल ६४८ (ह.) मोकरर
१०. तकसीम दस्त (दास्ता) शूद (ह०) अस्त (व गज शेरशाही) पैमुद बदेहन्द बीगहा
११. ६००S
१२. मजरुआ ३००— अफतादा ३००
१३. मिवाअद चीन्याची (चुनांचे) सरतहा की मादन बुदन अैम (अइम्मा)
१४. ······ मजकुरीन दर्ज फरमान शादिर अस्त हम चु—
१५. ना नुमायन्द अजां तजाविज न कुनंद बदांच अैमागनि
१६. मजकुरीन तहाल कीशमति बौअरी खुर्द अमद फ–
१७. आमा मिहाल दीदा कुनद मकाम हाल जिमी मज
१८. कुर तसलिम नुमायेन्द जिमीन गैरहाजिर अमानति विदारंद ओ
१९. इस्तकवाल (हर्चे) दर तहरीर सनद अज मजकुर मर्हे रा न देहन्द
२०. ······ओ आं खाली व गुजारंद ओ मी—
२१. नकुल उजूह वेतलब मांफ दारंद ओ दरी बाब ···मजी-
२२. (दा ताकीद न तलंवदु) जहीदै ४ मुरखा १३ माह (रजब) सन् ६४८
२३. हिजरी

२४. सही १३ रजब ९४८

نقل فرمان شیرشاهی

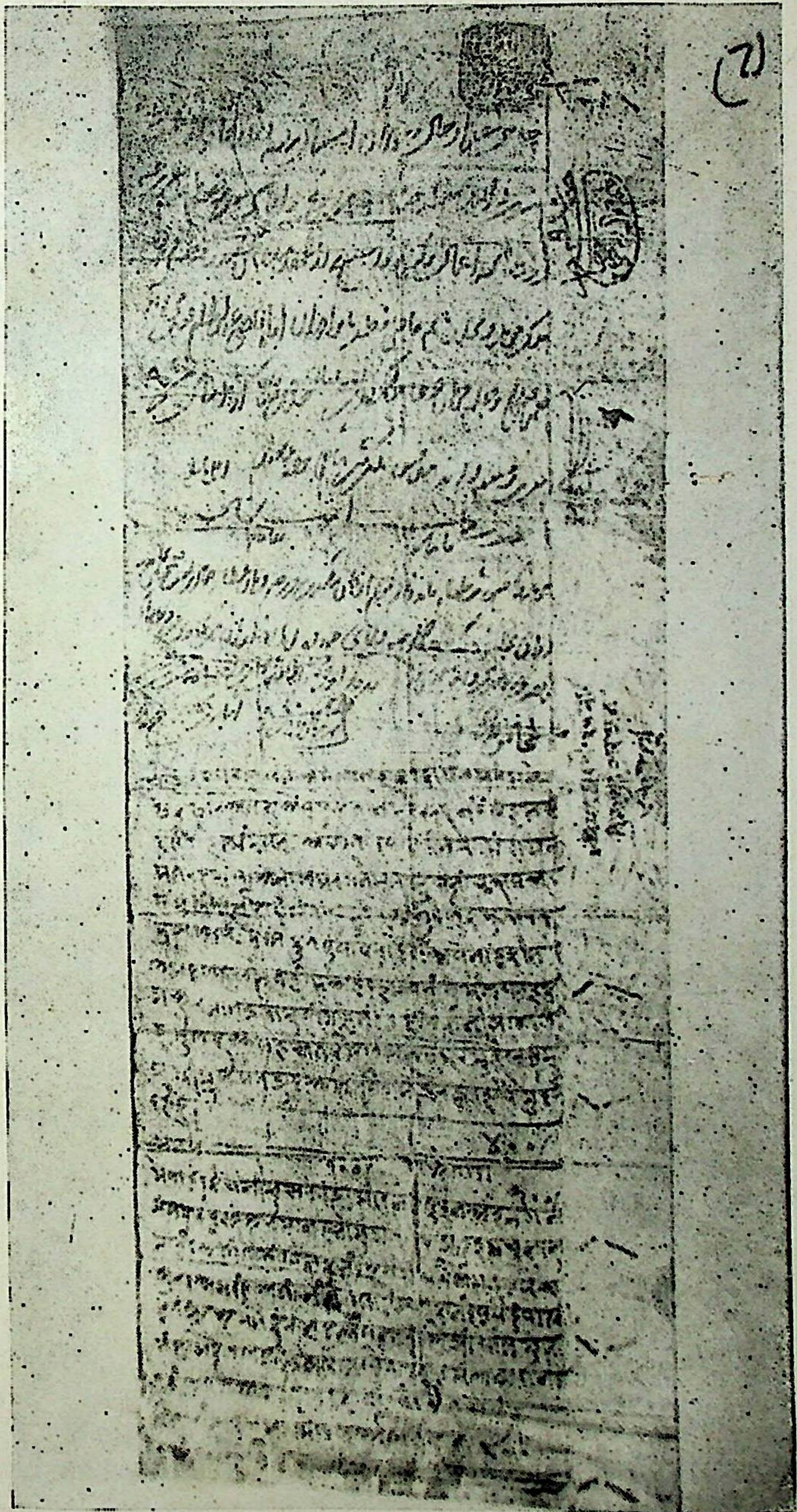
چاے شقدار حال و عاملان استقبال پرگنه دکهدهار از شعیب سلطانی
مبرہن دانند چہار صد بیگه زمین مزروع و افتاده به تعیین موضع ماگیانه
مزرعه دودهاله اعمال پرگنه مذکور چنانچ از عہد سلطان سکندر مرحوم در
وجه ملک موید و مخلد باسم قاضی قطب با برادران ابناء قاضی عبد الحلیم
تعین می آید ہمبران جمله بر حکم فرمان عظام بندگی حضرت سلیمانی خلد الله
ملکه از استقبال سنه ۹۵۰ (ہجری) مقرر و مستقیم داشته شده است
به گز شیرشاہی پیموده بدہند للعابیگه (۴۰۰) مزروعه افتاده
(۱۰۰) مابیگه (۳۰۰) ںعابیگه
می باید که چنانچ شرطہا ماندن و بودن ایمه گان مذکورین درج فرمان عظام
صادر است ہمچنان نمایند ازان تجاوز نکنند و چنانچ جبریه داوی خورده آمده اند
ازان نیز تجاوز نکنند و به دخل و تصرف مذکورین و ابناء ایشان بازگذارند
دمن کل الوجوه خارج و بے طلب و معاف دانند درین باب زیادت تاکید نه طلبند

الخامس والعشرین من شهر جمادی الآخر سنه ۹۵۰ اشارت بحضور صحیح شد

صحیح شد
مورخه جمادی الآخر سنه ۹۵۰ ھ

सही —
ता० 24 मा० जमादिउआखिर
९५० हिजरी

ANNEXTURE—"C"



The farmān of Sher Shāh, dated Jamād II 25, A.H. 950



ANNEXTURE—"C"

१. चाहे शिकदार हाल ओ आमिलाना इसतकबाल परगना
२. ढ़कढ़ार अज् सुअव सुलतानी मुवरहन दानंद चहार स—
३. द बीगहा जमीन मजरुआ ओफतादा व तायुन मोजे मागयना
४. मजर दुधाला अमाल परगना मजकुर चुनांच अज् अह—
५. द शुलतान शिकन्दर मरहुम दरओजह मलिक मुअइद (ओ)
६. मुखलद वः (वइस्म) काजी कुतबु वा बरादरा (न) आवनाइ काजी
७. अवदुल हलीम तईं मी आइद हीजरां जुमल बर हुक—
८. म फरमान इजामु (अञाम) वंदगी हजरत सुलेमानी खलद अला—
९. ह मुलकहु अज इसतकवाल हीः ९५० मुकरर व् मु—
१०. सतकीमु दासत सूद असत बिगजे शेरशाही पंमुद ब—
११. दहंद ४००)
१२. मजरु १००ऽ ओफतादा ३००ऽ
१३. मे बाइद के चुनांचु सरतहा मांदन व् बुद्न अइमगन
१४. मजकुरी दरज फरमान इजामु सादिर असतु हम चुना नु—
१५. माइंद अजां तजावेज न कुनंद व् चुनांच जरीब वारी
१६. खुरद आमदंद अजां नीज तजावीज न कुनंद व् वे (व) दखल
१७. व तसरफ मजकुरीन व अवनाइ असां वाज गुजा—
१८. रंद व मिन्कुल वजुह खारज व वेतलव व मआफ दानंद
१९. दरीवाव जिआद ताकीद न तलवद··· ··· ···
२०. ··· ··· ···मीन्सहर जमादल आखिर सन ९५०
२१. इसारत व हजुर

सहर शही २५ माः
जुमाद आखर
९५० हीः

فرمان محمد ظهیر الدین بابر بادشاه

ا و نامداران و وزرای کفایت شعار و متصدیان اعمال و مباشران امور و اشغال

متکفلان مهمات سرکار تاتارخان وغیره بدانند درین وقت فرمان

یان مطاع واجب الاتباع از مکمن عواطف بادشاهی شرف نفاذ

فت که مواضع و اراضی و وظیفه مذکور فی الضمن را بر حسب سند سلطان

براهیم و بموجب توقیع سلطان سکندر تعلق جناب فضایل مآب

ضی عبد الحلیم ولد قاضی عبد الصمد و برادران قاضی مذکور و ابنا و ایشان

دارد و بهمان دستور من ابتداء فرمان مفوض وارزانی فرمودیم که

حاصلات آنرا بموجب تفصیل ضمن کرده در وجه معاش خود صرف نمایند

بجهت توفیر و عشر و دروغ گانه و شقدارانه مزاحمت نرسانند می باید

مقرر داشته بتقدیم رسانند و بعلت مال و جهات و اخراجات و کل

تکالیف دیوانی و لوازم سلطانی معاف دارند و هیچ آفریده دخل

نماید و بتصرف مشار الیهم گذارند و سال بسال بفرمان و پروانچه مجدد

محتاج ندارند و چون توقیع رفیع وقیع اشرف اعلی برسد اعتماد

نمایند   تحریراً شهر محرم المکرم بدار الخلافه آگره

ANNEXTURE—"E"

نقل فرمانِ حضرت همایون بادشاه

الله اکبر

فرمان عالی شان از قرار تاریخ ۲۷ شهر ذی القعده سنه ۹۶۲ھ آنکه برادران سلیمان خصال سکندر سگال

و فرزندان همایون فال کامران و امرائے ظفر قرین نصرت قران وصدور منیع القدر رفیع الشا

ووزرای کفایت نشان وعمال ومباشران امور واشغال ومتصدیان قصبه مچهیواره وداردک سرکار تا

بدانند که درینوقت فرمان واجب الاذعان که مصدر از مکمن الطاف بادشاهانه ومهبط اعطاف خسروا

شرف اصدار وعز نفاذ یافت که امر قضا وخطابت وقصبه مذکوره تعلق به مولاناء الاعظم جامع الفضائل والحکم

قاضی بهاء الدین ولد قاضی الهداد وفضائل سرشت تقوی شعار دیانت دثار قاضی عبد الحلیم ولد قاضی عبد الصمد

داشته باشد که من ابتدائے تاریخ بدین امر عظیم وشغل جسیم کماینبغی قیام واقدام نمایند وآنچه براه قدیم از

امر منیع تعلق ومخصوص ایشان است دست تعدی ایشان را درین امر قوی ومطلق دانند واز سخن صواب د

ایشان که موافق شریعت غرا وملت زهراء خواهد بود هیچ آفریده عدول وانحراف نه نماید وامور الا بالاستقلال

مفوض بدیشان داشته کتابت صکوک وسجلات وقسمت ترکات وضبط اموال ایتام وتعهد عقود آنکه مع الو

وبلا ولی برائے جناب ایشان تفویض فرمودیم باید که بدین واجب مقرر دانسته بتقدیم رسانند وتغییر وتبدیل بقواء

آن راه ندهند مشار الیهما بدانند که باتفاق یکدیگر بدین امر خطیر از خطوط وقبائل دقیقهٔ از دقایق نامرعی نگذارند

وهریک خود را مجاز در استخلاف دیگرے دانند وبنوعے بدین امر قیام واقدام نماید که یوم یقوم الحساب از عهدهٔ

جواب بیرون تواند آمد برین جمله بروند وچون توقیع وقیع منیع الشرف اعلیٰ موشح وموضح وموحلّیٰ گردد

اعتماد نمایند وهرسال فرمان وپروانچه مجدد نطلبند درعهده دانسته درین باب تقصیر نه نمایند۔

بدار الخلافة آگره ۔ بمقام چهار باغ ۔

ANNEXTURE—"D"

فرمان محمد ظهیر الدین بابر بادشاه

ا نامدار و وزرای کفایت شعار و متصدیان اعمال و مباشران امور و اشغال

متکفلان مهمات سرکار تاتارخان وغیره بدانند درین وقت فرمان

یان مطاع واجب الاتباع از مکمن عواطف بادشاهی شرف نفاذ

فت که مواضع و اراضی و وظیفه مذکور فی الضمن را بر حسب سند سلطان

براهیم و بموجب توقیع سلطان سکندر تعلق جناب فضایل مآب

ضی عبدالحلیم ولد قاضی عبدالصمد و برادران قاضی مذکور و ابناء ایشان

دارد و بهمان دستور من ابتداء فرمان مفوض و ارزانی فرمودیم که

حاصلات آنرا بموجب تفصیل ضمن کرده در وجه معاش خود صرف نمایند

بجهت توفیر و عشر و دروغ گانه و شقداران مزاحمت نرسانند می باید

مقرر داشته بتقدیم رسانند و بعلت مال و جهات و اخراجات و کل

تکالیف دیوانی و لوازم سلطانی معاف دارند و هیچ آفریده مدخل

نماید و بتصرف مشار الیهم گذارند و سال بسال بفرمان و پروانچه مجدد

حتاج ندارند و چون توقیع رفیع وقیع اشرف اعلی برسد اعتماد

نمایند — تحریراً شهر محرم المکرم بدار الخلافه آگره

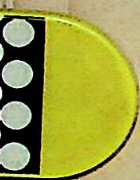
ANNEXTURE—"E"

نقل فرمانِ حضرت همایون بادشاه

الله اکبر

فرمان عالی شان از قرار تاریخ ۲۷ شهر ذی القعده سنه ۹۶۵ آنکه برادران سلیمان خصال سکندر سگال و فرزندان همایون فال کامران و امرائے ظفر قرین نصرت قران و صدور منیع القدر رفیع الشان و وزرای کفایت نشان و عمال و مباشران امور و اشغال و متصدیان قصبه چهپواره و دارک سرکار تا... بدانند که درینوقت فرمان واجب الاذعان که مصدر از مکمن الطاف بادشاهانه و مهبط اعطاف خسروانه شرف اصدار و عز نفاذ یافت که امر قضا و خطابت قصبه مذکوره تعلق به مولانای الاعظم جامع الفضائل والحکم قاضی بهاء الدین ولد قاضی الهداد و فضائل سرشت تقوی شعار دیانت دثار قاضی عبد الحلیم ولد قاضی عبد الصمد داشته باشد که من ابتدائے تاریخ بدین امر عظیم و شغل جسیم کما ینبغی قیام و اقدام نمایند و آنچه براه قدیم از امر منیع تعلق و مخصوص ایشان است دست تعدی ایشان را دریں امر قوی و مطلق دانند و از سخن صواب د... ایشان که موافق شریعت غرّا و ملت زهرا خواهد بود هیچ آفریده عدول و انحراف نه نماید و امر و الا بالاستقلال مفوض بدیشان داشته کتابت صکوک و سجلات و قسمت ترکات و ضبط اموال ایتام و تعهد عقود آنکه مع الو... و بلا ولی برائے جناب ایشان تفویض فرمودیم باید که بدیں واجب مقرر دانسته بتقدیم رسانند و تغییر و تبدیل بقواء آں راه ندهند مشار الیهما بدانند که باتفاق یکدیگر بدیں امر خطیر از خطوط و قبائل دقیقهٔ از دقایق نامرعی نگذارند و هر یک خود را مجاز در استخلاف دیگرے دانند و بنوعے بدیں امر قیام و اقدام نمایند که یوم یقوم الحساب از عهدهٔ جواب بیروں تواند آمد بریں جمله بروند و چوں توقیع وقیع منیع اشرف اعلیٰ موشح و موضح و محلّیٰ گردد اعتماد نمایند و هر سال فرمان و پروانچه مجدد نطلبند درعهده دانسته دریں باب تقصیر نه نمایند -

بدار الخلافة اگره - بمقام چهار باغ -



The Seven Births of Brahmadatta A Critical Study

JAGDISHWAR PANDEY
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

I

The story of Brahmadatta and his six associates was related by Sanatkumāra to Mārkaṇḍeya in the Harivaṁśapurāṇa (Ch XVI-XIX).

The seven sons of Bharadvāja proficient in yoga had to undergo seven births[1] in succession due to a crime committed by them and ultimately attained salvation because of the offering made to the pitṛs by the youngest of the brothers.

The names of the seven brāhmaṇa brothers are Vāgduṣṭa, Krodhana, Hiṁsra, Piśuna, Kavi, Khasṛma and Pitṛvarti[2]. On a suggestion by the brothers to eat the flesh of a cow belonging to their preceptor, Pitṛvartin suggested that if the cow was to be slaughtered, its flesh should be offered in śrāddha to the Pitṛs.

II

When dead, they were reborn as seven hunters in Daśārṇa, they remembered the misdeed of the previous birth and remained pious[3].

1. सप्तजातिषु सप्तैव बभूवुरमितौजसः ॥
Hv. XV, 13.

२. वाग्दुष्टः क्रोधनो हिंस्रः पिशुनः कविरेव च ।
खसृमः पितृवर्त्ती च नामभिः कर्मभिस्तथा ॥
HV, XV, 4

3. निर्वैरो निर्वृतः क्षान्तो निर्मन्युः कृतिरेव च ।
वेघसो मातृवर्त्ती च व्याधाः परमधार्मिकाः ॥
HV. XV, 19

III

Again dead they became deer on the Kālañjara hill[1]. Conscious of their previous misdeeds they died of severe penance.

IV

Now they became Cakravākas called Sumanas, Muni, Suvāk, Śuddha, Chidradarśin, Sunetra and Svatantra[2]. Attracted by royal splendour one wanted to become a king and two more wanted to follow him as his ministers.

V

They became Swans—Nispṛha, Nirmama, Kṣānta, Nirdvandva, Nisparigraha, Nirvṛtti and Nibhṛta by name in the next birth in Mānasa lake[3]. Different sets of name for them have also been suggested by different manuscripts of the Hv[4].

VI

In their next birth as human beings—(a) Svatantra became king Brahmadatta son of Aṇuha. (b) Chidradarśin and Sunetra became brāhmaṇas Pañcāla and Kaṇḍarīka by name and were friends of king Brahmadatta.

The rest (d-g) Dhṛti, Mahāmanā, Vidvān and Tattvadarśin retained past memory in this human birth and desirous of renouncing

1. उन्मुखो नित्यवित्रस्तः स्तब्धकर्णो विलोचनः ।
पण्डितो घस्मरो नादी नामभिस्तेऽभवन्मृगाः ॥
HV., XVI, 23

2. सुमना मुनिः सुवाक्शुद्धः पञ्चमश्छिद्रदर्शनः ।
सुनेत्रश्च स्वतन्त्रश्च शकुना नामतः स्मृताः ॥
HV., XVI. 29

3. निष्पृहः निर्ममः क्षान्तो निर्द्वन्द्वो निष्परिग्रहः ।
निर्वृत्तिर्निभृतश्चैव शकुना नामतः स्मृताः ॥
HV. Star Passage No 300

4. पद्मगर्भोऽरविन्दाक्षः क्षीरगर्भः सुलोचनः ।
उरुबिन्दुः सुबिन्दुश्च हैमगर्भस्तु सप्तमः ॥
HV. Star Passage No 303

सुमनाः सुवाक् सुशुद्धश्च तत्त्वदर्शो च तत्त्ववित् ।
सुनेत्रश्च सुहोत्रश्च द्विजा नामभिरेव च ॥
Hv. Star Passage No. 304

the world begged permission from their father who forwarded the plea of his own helplessness in old age against the permission. The sons taught him two ślokas on the recitation of which king Brahmadatta would offer him money sufficient for his maintenance.

King Brahmadatta knew the speech of all the lower animals. One day he burst into laughter on hearing the conversation of some ants. His queen thought it to be indicative of an insult to her and would not believe his explanation unless the king taught the art of understanding the speech of the lower animals to her. For this the king had to undergo severe penance for six days and nights and Lord Viṣṇu being pleased granted him a boon which would bear fruit the next morning.

The old Brāhmaṇa did not so far find any opportunity to recite the verse to the king. Next morning when the king along with his ministers was entering the city, he recited the verses covering the history of their previous births :

सप्तव्याधा दशार्णेषु मृगाः कालञ्जरे गिरौ ।
चक्रवाकाः सरिद्द्वीपे [हंसाः सरसि मानसे ॥
तेऽपि जाताः कुरुक्षेत्रे ब्राह्मणा वेदपारगाः ।
प्रस्थिता दूरमध्वानं] यूयं किमवसीदथ ॥[1]

This brought back the lost memory to the king and his ministers. The king offered riches to the old Brāhmaṇa. The queen now disclosed that her motive to induce him to undergo penance was to awaken him to his duty. The king, his queen and friends now attained salvation.

II

The above story of Brahmadatta was related by Mārkaṇḍeya. Yudhiṣṭhira heard it from Bhīṣma and Vaisampāyana related it to king Janamejaya.

The critical edition of the Harivaṁśamahāpurāṇa does not accept the bracketed portion of the verses as genuine and as such omits the birth of the brothers as Rājahaṁśas in the Mānasa lake.

Three different sets of the names of the swans have been recorded alongwith those given as star passages Nos—300,303-4 in the critical edition as shown above. From the point of view of the story their births as Rājahaṁśas is not necessary, for in their birth as Cakravakas the royal splendour of king Aṇuha sowed the desire in the minds of

1. Harivaṁśapurāṇa XIX. 18 Vide Note on pp. 789--90 also.

Pitṛvartin and his two brothers. Some mss. of the Harivaṁśa-purāṇa utilised in the critical edition omit the swan-birth. The learned editor has referred to the Pāli and Prākṛta versions of this story in the Cittasambhūtajātaka[1] and Uttarādhyayanasūtra[2] and commentary on the latter by Devendra.

They put the different births as follows :

(a) चण्डाला हुम्ह अवन्तीषु मिगा नेरंजरं पति ।
उक्कुसा नम्मदातीरे त्यज्ज ब्राह्मणखत्तिया ॥

Jataka No 498, St. 16

(b) आस्स्व दासौ मृगौ हंसौ मातङ्गावमरौ ततः ।
एषा नौ षष्ठिका जातिरन्योन्याभ्यां वियुक्तयोः ॥

Devendra's Com. On U. A. Xiii. 16.

(c) दासा दसण्णे आसीमु मिया कालिञ्जरे नगे ।
हंसा मयङ्गवईतीरे सोवागा कासि भूमिए ॥
देवा य देवलोम्मि आसि अम्हे महिड्ढिया ।
इमा नो छट्ठिया जाई अन्नमन्नेण जा विणा ॥

U. A. XIII 6-7

The learned editor points out that there are only two persons and not seven in these two versions. But there are more divergences also. Dāsa is not exactly Vyādha or Caṇḍāla. Nerañjanā must be different from Kālañjara. Narmadā is not the Sariddvipa and Ukkusa may be different from Cakravāka. Narmadā has specifically been mentioned in the Pāli version.

The Prākṛta version knows the birth as haṃsas adds that as gods in placc of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya ones. It is but natural that the Pāli and Prākṛta authors should give a distant echo of a Sanskrit text and make some changes to suit their purpose.

Here the Pāli version may be nearer to the reading accepted by the critical edition. But the Prākṛta one accepting six births is closer to the Harivaṁśa Vulgate as it mentions the birth as swans and gods.

III

The constituted text of the critical edition has at least four times referred to the Saptajātis—seven births of the Brāhmaṇa brothers. It

1. Cittasambhūtajātaka, Jātaka No. 498.
2. Uttarādhyayanasūtra, XIII. 6-7.

may be contended that in the expression seven refers to the brothers and not to the births. But it gives no sense. The traditional reading gives the successive seven births including that as swan and as sons of Kausika at Kurukṣetra.

The two Harivaṁśa verses giving the seven steps have exactly been quoted by Aśvaghoṣa in his Vajraśūcī. Aśvaghoṣa was contemporaneous with emperor Kaniṣka (1st cent. A. D.). Even if the attribution of the Vajrasūcī to Aśvaghoṣa is doubted we have a ms of the work as old as the 12th cent. A. D.[1]. And no ms of the Harivaṁśa can claim such antiquity. Thus on the strength of the quotation in the Vajrasūcī we may claim that the reading of the vulgate is authentic. We should now consider how the seven birth was omitted in the other versions. We think that at a very early date star passage No. 300 formed part of the Harivaṁśa Purāṇas. And due to a haplological mistake on the part of a scribe the few lines between the two padās 'शकुना नामतः स्मृताः' were omitted. Unfortunately the defective version got currency and it not only influenced the Pāli version, but many Sanskrit texts including the Padma and Matsyapurāṇās also came under its influence. It may be added here that Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa in the Pitṛdayitā and Bengal Paddhati Kāras Kāleśi, Paśupati and Bhavadeva follow the vulgate while quoting verses in question for ritualistic use. All these authors belong to the Sena court of Bengal.

We, therefore are of the opinion that हंसाः सरसि मानसे । जाताः कुरुक्षेत्र ब्राह्मणाः वेदपारगाः । प्रस्थिता दूरमध्वानं formed part of the original Harivaṃśapurāṇa and not inserted by a later hand as has been suggested.

1. Photo copy of the Vajrasūcī, braught from Tibet by Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅktyāyana and preserved in the Bihar Research Society.

Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga

It was on November 21, 1951 that the foundation stone of the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning was laid by the late lamented Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Indian Union at Maheshnagar, Darbhanga on the 64 acres of land donated by the late Maharajadhiraja Shri Kameshwara Singh. In addition to it, the late Maharaja made a gift of money amounting to Rs. 3,40,000/-. Thus the Mithila Research Institute was born on the 16th June, 1951 in this land of perennial light.

Aims and Objects

This Institute was established with a view to promoting advanced studies and researches in various branches of Sanskrit Learning. It was intended to serve as the meeting ground of the modern researchers and the traditional Sanskrit scholars, so that, while the former might get an opportunity to dive deep into the original Sanskrit Texts, the latter might get a training in modern methods of research. The Institute stands dedicated to the task of preservation and propagation of the spiritual heritage of ancient India.

Scope and Principal Features

This is a residential Institute and so all the students and the members of the staff reside in its premises. The Institute prepares the selected students for the degrees of Master of Arts, Doctor of Philosophy, and Doctor of Literature which are awarded by the Bihar University (now Mithila University).

General Management

The following are the Governing authorities of the Institute.

(a) General Council—Governor of Bihar-its Chairman.
(b) Executive Council—Divisional Commissioner-its Chairman.
(c) Publication Committee.
(d) Board of Advisers.
(e) Committee for Courses of Studies.
(f) Examination Committee.

Scholarship

The Institute awards 15 scholarships annually to M. A. Students @ Rs. 50/- per month and 9 Research scholarship @ Rs. 200/- per month.

1. Total No. of students obtained M. A. Degree—	133
Appeared	3
2. Total No. of students obtained Ph. D. Degree—	45
to be submitted	2
3. Total No. of students obtained D. Litt. Degree	2
4. No. of books published	54
5. No. of press copy ready for printing	30
Books under binding	5
Books under printing	13
6. (a) No. of Bulletins published	9
(b) Next under printing	1
7. Total No. of books and journals in Library—	13,522
8. Total No. of Manuscript collected	8,134

Our Recent Publications

1. Nyāyakusumāñjali with Āmoda, Viveka, Boddhanī and Parimala.—Ed. Dr. Mahaprabhulal Goswami, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

The immense popularity of this work in the realm of Indian logic does not stand in need of reiteration. The special feature of the edition is that it includes two hitherto published commentaries the one written by Baradaraja and the other by Mm. Harihar Kripalu Dvivedi. It is notable that the editor has furnished a summary of the text with admirable clarity and precision.

2. Kāvyakallolinī—Kavisekhara Badrinath Jha

It is a collection of about five hundred verses composed by Kavisekhara Badrinath Jha. It is for the first time that the present work will see the light of the day.

3, Sulocanāmādhavacampū—Ed. Prof. Babu Mishra, M. A.

It is a champu type of Sanskrit poetry composed by Mm. Pt. Shri Bacca Jha. It has hitherto remained unpublished and is expected to be of great interest to the scholars of Sanskrit literature.

4. Nescience in Indian Philosophy,—Dr. C. N. Mishra, M. A. Ph. D.

The problem of Nescience occupies a position of supreme importance in the domain of Indian Philosophy. Dr. C. N. Mishra is the

author of the present monograph. He has comprehensively dealt with the different views that have been advanced by the philosophers belonging to the different schools of Indian Philosophy with admirable clarity and precision.

5. Tarkapradeepa—Pandit Mahesh Jha,

It is a dissertation on Inductive logic and is meant for those who are fully conversant with the phraseologies of the neo-logicians of Mithila and Navadveepa. It is notable that the present work is written in plain and easily intelligible Sanskrit.

6. Madālsānātaka—Ed. Dr. Trilokanath Jha, M. A., Ph. D.

It is for the first time that the work on Sanskrit dramatic literature will be published under the able editorship of Dr. Trilokanath Jha. It is notable that Mm. Gokulanath Upadhyaya is the writer of it.

7. Vyutapattivādagūḍhārthatattvālokārthadīpikā.
Ed. Prof. Babu Mishra. M. A.

The Vyutapattivāda of Gaḍadhara Bhattacharya is a work on sabdakhanda of navyanyaya. It is elaborately dealt with the casual relationship between the expectancy of verbal senses (akanksa) and propositional import (vakyarth). It has been edited with the commentary entitled the Gudharthatattvaloka and its sub-commentary the Arthadipika. It is worthy of note that the authorship of the Gudharthatattvaloka bélongs to the late pandit Bacca Jha whereas that of the Arthadipika to Vidyavacaspati Pt. Shashinath Jha. These commentaries have rendered the abstruse problems of navyanyaya intelligible to a modern mind.

8. Prāyaścitaprakāsa of Mm. Mahesh Thakkura.
Ed. Dr. S. Bhattacharya, M. A. Ph. D.

It is a work on the Dharmasastra written by the late Mahes Thakkura, the founder of the royal family of Mithila. It is for the first iime that this work had been printed.

9. Kṛtyasāgara of Ratnapani Jha—Ed. Dr. M. L. Goswami.

It is a work on Dharmasastra as prevalent in the land of Mithila.

अध्यास और उसका मूलाधार

डा० महाप्रभु लाल गोस्वामी, एम०ए०, पीएच्०डी०, डी०लिट्
न्यायव्याकरणसाहित्यवेदान्ताचार्य, मीमांसा शास्त्री
प्रभारी निदेशक, मिथिला शोधसंस्थान, दरभंगा

भारतीय ज्ञानराशि का मूल स्रोत वेद है। संहिता-भाग में ही सभी दर्शनों का मूल आधार उपलब्ध होता है। ऋग्वेद संहिता का अस्यवामीयसूक्त का अध्ययन करने पर यह सुस्पष्ट हो जाता है कि वेद तत्त्वज्ञान का निधानभूत है। इस सूक्त के चतुर्थ मन्त्र में अद्वैतवेदान्त का रहस्य उपलब्ध होता है। इस मन्त्र में कारणभूत परमेश्वर को अविषय कहा गया है।

इस मन्त्र का आशय व्यक्त करते हुए आचार्य सायण ने कहा है—कौन देख सकता है? अर्थात् सृष्टि के पूर्व में अव्याकृत अवस्था में प्रथम भावविकार को कौन देख सकता है? वह दुर्विज्ञेय है। आत्मा की दुर्विज्ञेयता का कारण प्रदर्शन करते हुए कहा गया है— अस्थिरहित से अस्थियुक्त शरीर उत्पन्न हुआ। अस्थियुक्त शरीर उपलक्षणरूप में कहा गया है। कार्यभूत वस्तुओं को 'अस्थन्वन्तं' शब्द से कहा जाता है और 'अनस्था' शब्द से अशरीरी को कहा जाता है। यह अस्थिरहित अशरीर पदार्थ सांख्यशास्त्र में प्रसिद्ध प्रकृति एवं अद्वैतवेदान्त में प्रसिद्ध ईश्वराश्रिता माया है। प्रलयावस्था में सभी भावपदार्थों को प्रकृति या माया प्रलयकाल में गर्भ के समान धारण करती है। यह प्रकृति या माया अशरीरी है। जगत् की अव्याकृत अवस्था में अस्थिरहित अशरीर परमात्मा ही सभी अनभिव्यक्त विश्व का धारण करनेवाला है। परमेश्वर ही मायाशवलित होकर जगत् का निर्माण करता है। जगत् की उत्पत्ति के समय में देहादि से युक्त किसी जीव के अस्तित्व की सम्भावना न होने से इस मन्त्र के प्रारम्भ में 'को ददर्श' यह कहा गया है। इस अवस्था को देखने में कोई भी समर्थ नहीं हो सकता है। इस समय भूमि सम्बन्धी पार्थिव स्थूल—शरीर, प्राणोपलक्षित सूक्ष्म-शरीर शरीरारम्भक सात धातु व्यक्त होता है। स्थूल-सूक्ष्मशरीरयुक्त आत्मा अर्थात् पूर्वोक्त दो शरीरों से युक्त चेतन कहाँ है? अर्थात् कहीं भी नहीं है। सृष्टि के प्रारम्भ में किसी भी जीव की सम्भावना नहीं है, अतः सृष्टि के कारण के विषय में किसी को भी ज्ञात नहीं है। फलतः जगत् के मूल कारण का जिज्ञासु कोई

शिष्य जगत् के कारण के ज्ञाता किसी गुरु से जगत् के कारण के विषय की जिज्ञासा नहीं कर सकता है। जगत् को उत्पत्ति के समय में न पूछनेवाला है और न प्रतिवक्ता है। अतः सभी अविज्ञेय होने से जगत् के कारण परमेश्वर को भी अविज्ञेय कहा है[1]।

ऋक्संहिता के ८।३।१७ वर्ग में कहा गया है कि जीव और ईश्वर का भेद माया-प्रयुक्त है। तुम उसको नहीं जानते हो. जिन्होंने सभी प्राणियों की रचना की है, जो तुम्हारे हृदय में है। अज्ञान से आवृत्त मनुष्य विभिन्न बातें करता है।[2]

ब्रह्मविद्या का प्रकाश सूक्ष्मरूप में ऋक्संहिता में स्पष्ट मिलता है। ब्रह्मविद्या के प्रभाव से वामदेव ने सर्वात्मभाव का साक्षात्कार किया था। इन्द्र का कर्म भी मेरा ही कर्म है—यह ज्ञान किया था। इस विषय की पुष्टि तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण के अनुवाक् से उद्घृत ऋक्मन्त्र से भी हो रही है :—

हे ज्येष्ठ वृद्धतम प्रजापति आदिज्ञान ऐश्वर्य जो भी तुमलोगों में उत्पन्न है, सभी का सम्पादन ब्रह्म ने किया है। आरम्भ में द्युलोक की सृष्टि की, जो सत्य, सभी कारणों का कारण है, उनमें ब्रह्म ही प्रथम अपनी महिमा से उत्पन्न हुए हैं—स्वप्रकाशरूप में भासमान हुए हैं। ऐसे ब्रह्म के साथ कौन स्पर्धा कर सकता है, अर्थात् ब्रह्म के समान या उससे अधिक कोई नहीं है।[3] इस मन्त्र के द्वारा सभी शक्तियां ब्रह्म में ही कही गयी है।

केनोपनिषद् के तृतीय एवं चतुर्थ खण्ड में स्पष्टरूप से कहा गया है कि अग्नि आदि सभी देवताओं का सामर्थ्य भी ब्रह्म का ही सामर्थ्य है, अग्नि आदि देवताओं में कोई भी सामर्थ्य नहीं है। फलतः वामदेव का कार्य भी ब्रह्म का ही कार्य है। उपनिषद् आदि में उपलब्ध ब्रह्म-महिमा अविकल ऋक्संहिता के मन्त्र में ही मिल जाती है।

ब्रह्मज्ञ पुरुष की सर्वात्मभाव प्राप्ति ब्रह्मसूत्र के—"ब्राह्मेण जैमिनिरुपन्यासादिभ्यः" (ब्र० सू० ४।४।५) इस सूत्र में तथा वृहदारण्यकवार्तिक में सुरेश्वराचार्य ने भी कहा है—सर्वात्मभूत ब्रह्मवित् सर्वात्मक होता है। इस ब्रह्मवित् में सभी जगत् समर्पित रहता है।

---

१. को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानमस्थन्वन्तं यमनस्था बिभर्ति।
भूम्या असुर सृगात्मावव स्वित् को विद्वांसमुपगात् प्रष्टुमेतत् ॥ (ऋ० वा० सू० ४)

२ न तं विदाथ य इमा जजानान्यद्युष्माकमन्तरं बभूव।
नीहारेण प्रावृता जल्प्या चासुतृप उक्थशासस्वरन्ति ॥ ऋ० वे० ८-३-१७

३ ब्रह्मज्येष्ठा वीर्या सम्भूतानि, ब्रह्माग्रे ज्येष्ठं दिवमाततान।
ऋतस्य ब्रह्म प्रथमोत जज्ञे, तेनार्हति ब्रह्मणा स्पर्धितुंकः ॥ तै० ब्रा० २-४-७

इस विषय की स्पष्ट अवगति के लिए वृहदारण्यक में एक दृष्टान्त प्रदर्शित किया गया है। जैसे रथ की नाभि में, रथ की नाभि में, सभी समर्पित रहता है वैसे ही परमात्मभूत ब्रह्मवित् में ब्रह्मादिस्तम्बपर्यन्त सभी प्राणी, अग्नि आदि सभी देवता, भूः आदि सभी लोक एवं वाणी आदि सभी प्राण एवं जलचन्द्र के समान अविद्याकल्पित प्रतिशरीर प्रवेशी सभी आत्मा, सभी संसार समर्पित होता है।[1] वामदेव की कथा वृहदारण्यक के चतुर्थ अध्याय में भी कही गई है। यह ब्रह्मवित् दो प्रकार का है—(१) सर्वोपाधि, (२) निरुपाधि। सभी कल्पित द्वैत के साथ उसके अधिष्ठानीभूत ब्रह्म का स्वात्मरूप में दर्शन कर ब्रह्मवित् सप्रपंचरूपता अविद्वान् व्यक्ति की दृष्टि के अनुसार ही अवगत की जाती हैं। विद्वान् की दृष्टि के अनुसार ब्रह्मवित् निष्प्रपंचरूप है। इसी विषय की अभिव्यक्ति भाष्य में भी उपलब्ध होती है—ब्रह्मवेत्ता को निरुपाख्य कहने का अभिप्राय यह है "उपाख्या" शब्द का अर्थ शब्द और ज्ञान होता है। जो शब्द का और ज्ञान का अविषय होता है उसीको निरुपाख्य कहा जाता है। ब्रह्म की सप्रपंचता अविद्याकृत है एवं निष्प्रपंचता पारमार्थिक है। इस प्रकार ब्रह्म की सप्रपंचता और निष्प्रपंचता के प्रतिपादक वेदशास्त्र के साथ अविरोध सिद्ध होता है। इस विषय का विचार ब्रह्मसूत्र के चतुर्थ अध्याय के चतुर्थ पाद के तृतीय अधिकरण में किया गया है। ब्रह्मवित् की सर्वात्मकता—सप्रपंचरूपता की प्राप्ति होती है—यही आचार्य जैमिनि का मत है। विद्वद्दृष्टि एवं अविद्वद्दृष्टि के अनुसार इन दोनों मतों में किसी प्रकार का भेद नहीं है।

दार्शनिकशिरोमणि आचार्य वाचस्पति मिश्र ने कहा है कि—यद्यपि आत्मा चिदानन्दस्वरूप है तथापि छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् के अष्टम् अध्याय के प्रथम ब्राह्मण की पंचम् कण्डिका में कहा गया है कि "यह आत्मा पापरहित, जरारहित, मृत्युरहित, शोक-रहित, भूख-प्यास की इच्छा से रहित सत्यकाम, सत्यसंकल्पस्वरूप है" इस वाक्य के द्वारा आत्मा का अपहतपाप्मत्वादि सत्यकामत्वादि धर्म कहा गया है। आत्मा के ये धर्म औपाधिक होने से तात्त्विक नहीं है वरन् अतात्त्विक हैं। अतात्त्विक होने पर भी व्यावहारिक-प्रमाण से सिद्ध होने से लोकसिद्ध हैं। अतः आत्मा के सत्यकामत्व आदि धर्म अत्यन्त असत् नहीं हैं। अत्यन्त असत् न होने पर लोकसिद्ध सत्यकामत्वादि धर्म

---

२ तस्मिन्नेतस्मिन् सर्वात्मभूते ब्रह्मविदि सर्वात्मनि सर्वं जगत् समर्पितम् इत्येतस्मिन् अर्थे दृष्टान्त उपादीयते। तद् यथा रथनाभौ च रथनाभौ च अराः सर्वे समर्पिता इति प्रसिद्धोऽर्थः। एवमेवास्मिन् आत्मनि परमात्मभूते ब्रह्मविदि सर्वाणि भूतानि ब्रह्मादिस्तम्बपर्यन्तानि सर्वे देवा अग्न्यादयः सर्वे लोका भूरादयः सर्वे प्राणा वागादयः सर्व एत आत्मानो जलचन्द्रवत् प्रतिशरीरानुप्रवेशिनो विद्याकल्पिताः। सर्वं जगदस्मिन् समर्पितम्॥ वृ० उ० २-१५

के प्रतिपादक शब्द भी "राहु का शिर" इत्यादि शब्दों के समान अवास्तव नहीं है। राहु और उसके सिर में अत्यन्त असत् जो भेद उसका उल्लेख करने वाला "राहोः शिरः" यह शब्द अवास्तव है। किन्तु लोकसिद्ध सत्यकामत्व आदि धर्मों का प्रतिपादक शब्द "राहोः शिरः" इस शब्द के समान अवास्तव नहीं है।[1]

इस वैदिक विश्लेषण से यह सिद्ध होता है कि ब्रह्म से अतिरिक्त वस्तु अवास्तव है। किन्तु अवास्तव होने पर भी बन्ध्या के पुत्र के समान अलीक नहीं है। सद्‌रूप तत्त्व अधिष्ठानस्वरूप है एवं यह चराचर विश्व विवर्तरूप है और वह तत्त्व इसका अभिन्न निमित्तोपादन कारण है। इसी का परिपोषण अध्यास की सिद्धि के द्वारा किया है। अद्वैत वेदान्त की आधारशिला अध्यास ही है। अध्यास की सिद्धि पर ही अद्वैत वेदान्त स्थिर हो सकता है। अतः अध्यास इस दर्शन का सर्वथा महत्त्वपूर्ण विषय है।

अध्यास शब्द 'अधि' उपसर्ग क्षेपार्थक 'असु' धातु या आस धातु से 'क्व' प्रत्यय के द्वारा निष्पन्न होता है। आधिपत्य, अधिष्ठान, अध्यारोप, मिथ्याभूत ज्ञान, भ्रम, वस्तु में अवस्तु का आरोप एक वस्तु में अन्य वस्तु का भ्रम आदि में इस शब्द का प्रयोग होता है।

अद्वैतवेदान्त की प्रतिष्ठा अध्यासवाद की सिद्धि के ऊपर ही निर्भर करती है। भाष्यकार आचार्य शङ्कर ने ब्रह्मसूत्र के भाष्य के आरम्भ में अध्यास की ही सिद्धि की है। शङ्कराचार्य ने कहा है—"कोऽयमध्यासो नाम, स्मृतिरूपः परत्र पूर्वदृष्टावभासः" (ब्र० सू० भा०) यह अध्यास क्या है ? यह स्मृतिरूप, अर्थात् स्मृति नहीं है, वरन् परत्र पूर्वदृष्ट का अवभास मात्र है। भामती के मत में अध्यास का संक्षिप्त लक्षण अवभास है। इस अवभास शब्द का अर्थ—अवमत या अवसन्न जो भास अर्थात् ज्ञान वही अध्यास है। ज्ञान का अवमान या अवभास दूसरे ज्ञान बाध, अन्य ज्ञान के द्वारा बाधित अर्थ वाला जो ज्ञान उसीको अवभास या अध्यास कहा जाता है। समीचीन ज्ञान अन्य ज्ञान के द्वारा बाध नहीं होता है। इस संक्षिप्त लक्षण को विस्तृतरूप से कहने के लिए "स्मृतिरूपः परत्र पूर्वदृष्टावभासः" कहा गया है। इस तरह इस वचन में दो लक्षण कहे गये हैं—एक संक्षिप्त और दूसरा विस्तृत लक्षण।

---

१. सत्यं तात्त्विकानन्दचैतन्यमात्र एव आत्मा, अपहतपाप्पसत्यकामत्वादयस्त्वौपाधिकतया अतात्त्विका अपि व्यवहारिकप्रमाणोपनीततया लोकसिद्धा नात्यन्तासन्तो येन तच्छाब्दा राहोः शिर इतिवदवास्तवा इत्यर्थः।

भा० ४।४।७

विस्तृत लक्षण की व्याख्या भामती में इस प्रकार की गई है—"स्मृतिरूप" शब्द का स्मृति के रूप में समान रूप है जिसका वह स्मृतिरूप है—स्मृति को स्मृतिरूप नहीं कहा जाता है। स्मृतिरूप का अर्थ—असन्निहितविषयकत्व होता है, देशान्तर में सत्ता आदि धर्म नहीं होता है। अर्थात् अन्य स्थान में जिसकी सत्ता है तद्विषयकत्व अर्थ नहीं होता है। "परत्र" शब्द का अर्थ परमार्थ सत् रूप अधिष्ठान होता है, अद्वैतवेदान्त में परमार्थ सत्ता ब्रह्म से भिन्न में नहीं है, अतः ब्रह्म ही परमार्थ सत् वस्तु है। दृश्य वस्तु ब्रह्म में कल्पित है। रस्सी में सर्प के भ्रमस्थल में रस्सी को सांप का अधिष्ठान कहा जाता है; किन्तु इस स्थल में भी रस्सीगत इदन्तांशावच्छिन्न चैतन्य को ही वस्तुतः अधिष्ठान माना है। ''पूर्वदृष्टावभास'' इसमें "अवभास" शब्द का अर्थ स्फुटतर ज्ञान होता है। नील का अवभास आदि प्रयोग में अवभास शब्द का यह अर्थ भी प्रतीत होता है। "पूर्वदृष्ट" शब्द का अर्थ पूर्व में दृष्ट होता है। किन्तु पूर्वदृष्ट की पारमार्थिक सत्ता अर्थ होता है। इसीलिए भाष्यकार ने दृष्ट शब्द का ही प्रयोग किया है। फलतः अध्यस्त सर्प या अध्यस्त रजत का दृष्टमात्रता ही अपेक्षित है, रजतादि ही परमार्थिक सत्ता अध्यास में अपेक्षित नहीं होती है। फलतः आरोप्य वस्तु की किसी भी काल में सत्ता नहीं थी यही प्रकृत में कहा गया है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि भ्रम में भासमान रजतादि की इदं वस्तु में स्थिति न होने पर भी देशान्तर में है यह प्रतीत होता है किन्तु आरोप्य वस्तु देशान्तर में नहीं वरन् यहींपर अनिर्वचनीय रजत की उत्पत्ति होती है—यही अद्वैतवेदान्त में विवक्षित है। "परत्र पूर्वदृष्टावभास" इतना ही अध्यास का लक्षण मानने पर "यह वही देवदत्त है" यह प्रत्यभिज्ञा भी भ्रम हो जाती इसीलिए भाष्यकार ने "स्मृतिरूप" यह कहा है। अतः प्रत्यभिज्ञा सन्निहित विषयक और अध्यास असन्निहित विषयक होने से प्रत्यभिज्ञा भ्रम नहीं होती है। भ्रम में भासमान रजत को सत् मानने पर यह रजत असन्निहित विषयक नहीं होता और भ्रम में भासमान रजत को असत् मानने पर उसका अवभास ही नहीं होता। सत् और असत् विरुद्ध होने से भ्रम में भासमान रजत सदसदात्मक नहीं हो सकता है। फलतः भ्रम में भासमान वस्तु न सत् है न असत् है और न सदसदात्मक है। यही कारण है कि आरोग्य वस्तु को अनीर्वचनीय माना गया है। इसीलिए अद्वैतवेदान्ती को अनिर्वचनीयता ख्यातिवादी माना गया है। रजत और रजतज्ञान— दोनों ही अध्यास है; ज्ञान और उसका विषय— दोनों ही अध्यास है। प्रकृतलक्षण से ज्ञान को ही अध्यास कहा गया है। किन्तु ज्ञान के अध्यास होने पर विषय तो निश्चित ही अध्यास रहेगा। यही कारण है कि विषयाध्यास का भिन्न लक्षण भाष्यकार ने नहीं कहा है। विषयाध्यास में इस लक्षण का समन्वय करने पर

"स्मर्य्यमाणरूपः परत्र पूर्वंदृष्टावभासः" यह लक्षण मानना पड़ेगा। इसका स्पष्ट प्रतिपादन विवरण मत के अनुसार अध्यास के विवेचन में उपलब्ध होता है।

यह अध्यास परोक्ष एवं अपरोक्ष दोनों प्रकार का होता है। भाष्यवार्त्तिककार नारायण सरस्वती ने परोक्ष अध्यास माना है; किन्तु वेदान्त परिभाषाकार ने परोक्ष भ्रम को मानकर अन्यथा ख्याति स्वीकार किया है।

भाष्यकार ने शुक्ति में अध्यास स्थल में अन्योन्याध्यास स्वीकार किया है। ऐसा नहीं मानने पर यह रजत है और रजत यह है—ये दोनों अनुभूतियाँ नहीं हो सकेंगी। एक अनुभव में रजत विशेष्य है और इदं विशेषण है तथा द्वितीय में इदं विशेष्य और रजत विशेषण है। प्रदर्शित विशेष्यविशेषणभाव का बोध अन्योन्याध्यास स्वीकार किये बिना ही नहीं हो सकता है। नैयायिकों ने ज्ञानलक्षण-सन्निकर्ष माना है, इस प्रत्यक्ष भ्रम में ये दोनों अनुभव नहीं हो सकते हैं। किन्तु यह अनुभवसिद्ध है, इसलिए अन्यथाख्याति-वाद संगत नहीं है। अतः अनिर्वचनीय ख्याति ही संगत है।

विवरण के अनुसार अध्यास का सारांश :

विवरण मत में अध्यास दो प्रकार का है— (१) ज्ञान विशिष्ट अर्थ का अध्यास, (२) अर्थविशिष्टज्ञान का अध्यास। प्रथम पक्ष में "स्मर्यमाणसदृश अन्य वस्तु अन्य रूप में अवभास्यमान होने पर अध्यास होता है, अर्थात् स्मर्य्यमाणरूप परत्र पूर्वदृष्ट का अवभास्यमान वस्तु ही अध्यास है। ज्ञानाध्यास के सम्बन्ध में भामती के साथ इसका कोई भेद नहीं है।

विवरण-मत में अध्यास का कारण संस्कार. सम्प्रयोग एवं दोष—ये तीन हैं। इस स्थल में 'स्मृतिरूप" पद के द्वारा संस्कार जन्यत्व प्रदर्शित होता है, "परत्र" पद के द्वारा सम्प्रयोग अधिष्ठान का प्रकाश कहा जाता है और "पूर्वदृष्टावभास" के द्वारा दोषजन्यत्व कहा जाता है। इन तीनों के द्वारा अध्यास को मिथ्याज्ञान या अनिर्वचनीय-ख्याति ही कहा गया है। यह दोष तीन प्रकार का है—(१) प्रमाणदोष, (२) प्रमेय-दोष, (३) प्रमातृदोष (प्रमाता का दोष)। प्रमाण दोष—काचकमलादि है. प्रमेयदोष—सादृश्य-दूरत्व आदि है, प्रमातृदोष—सादृश्यदूरत्व आदि है, प्रमातृदोष—राग, द्वेष आदि है।

वेदान्त मत में यह भ्रम पांच का प्रकार है—(१) जीव और ईश्वर का भेदज्ञान, (२) आत्मा का शरीरसम्बन्ध विशिष्टज्ञान, (३) कर्म और फल के साथ आत्मा युक्त है—

यह ज्ञान। (४) आत्मा का कर्तृत्व वास्तव है—इस भ्रम की निवृत्ति के लिए घटाकाशादि का दृष्टान्त (५) ब्रह्म के विकारित्व की निवृत्ति के लिए स्वर्णकुण्डल का दृष्टान्त गृहीत होता है—यह कहा जाता है।

एक वस्तु में अन्य वस्तु के भ्रम का नाम अध्यास कहने से जिसमें भ्रम होता है, उसको अधिष्ठान कहा जाता है एवं जिसका भ्रम होता है, उसको आरोप या आरोप्य कहा जाता है; जैसे—रस्सी में सांप का भ्रम होता है, इसमें रस्सी के द्वारा अवच्छिन्न चैतन्य अधिष्ठान है एवं सांप आरोप या आरोप्य है।

यह अध्यास सादि और अनादि के भेद से दो प्रकार का है। रस्सी में सांप का भ्रम आदि सादि हैं और ब्रह्म में अज्ञान या उसके धर्म जगत्प्रपंच भ्रम अनादि हैं।

अनादि भ्रम दो प्रकार का है—(१) स्वरूप से अनादि, (२) प्रवाहरूप से अनादि। जो जन्य नहीं रहता है वह स्वरूपतः अनादि है; जैसे— ब्रह्म या अविद्या। जन्य वस्तु में अनादित्व होने पर उसमें प्रवाहरूप से अनादित्व है; जैसे— जगत्प्रपंच।

यह अनादित्व अद्वैतवेदान्त में छ प्रकार का है—(१) जीव, (२) ईश्वर, (३) विशुद्ध चैतन्य, (४) जीव और ईश्वर का भेद, (५) अविद्या, (६) अविद्या और चैतन्य का सम्बन्ध।

अन्य रूप में अध्यास तीन प्रकार का है—(१) स्वरूपाध्यास या तादात्म्याध्यास, (२) संसर्गाध्यास, (३) आहार्य्याध्यास। यह मैं, मैं मनुष्य इत्यादि तादात्म्याध्यास है। मेरा शरीर इत्यादि संसर्गाध्यास है। शास्त्रीय विधि के द्वारा अध्यारोप उद्भावित होकर इच्छाप्रयुक्त साधित होने पर, उसको आहार्य्याध्यास कहा जाता है; जैसे— शालिग्राम में शिलाबुद्धि।

निम्नलिखित रूप से अध्यास तीन प्रकार का है— (१) धर्म का अध्यास, (२) धर्मी का अध्यास, (३) ~~संस्कार~~ संबन्ध का अध्यास। मैं मोटा हूं, मैं दुबला हूं इत्यादि ज्ञान धर्म का अध्यास है। इस अध्यास में स्थूलत्व और कृशत्व धर्म आत्मा में अध्यस्त है। जवापुष्प के सन्निहित स्फटिक में लाल रंग का भान। इस स्थल में जवा का लौहित्य धर्म स्फटिक में अध्यस्त है। धर्मी का अध्यास—शुक्तिका का रजत, रस्सी का सांप ज्ञान अथवा अन्तःकरण का साक्षिचैतन्य में अध्यासकर "अहंज्ञान" सम्बन्धाध्यास धर्मी के अध्यास के समय में ही होता है। 'मेरा शरीर' इस स्थल में भी 'सम्बन्ध का अध्यास रहता है।

इसी प्रकार अर्थाध्यास और ज्ञानाध्यास के रूप में अध्यास के दो विभाग किये गये हैं। इनमें अर्थाध्यास प्रधानतया दो प्रकार का है—(१) प्रातीतिक (२) व्यावहारिक। आगन्तुक धोका से जन्य शुक्ति रजत आदि प्रातीतिक अध्यास है। आकाशादि घटान्त संसार व्यावहारिक अध्यास है। यह अर्थाध्यास अन्य प्रकार से छ प्रकार का है—(१) केवल सम्बन्धाध्यास, (२) सम्बन्ध के साथ सम्बन्धी का अध्यास, (३) केवल धर्मी का अध्यास, (४) धर्म के साथ धर्मी का अध्यास, (५) अन्योऽन्याध्यास, (६) दो में एक का अध्यास।

(१) केवल सम्बन्धाध्यास :—

अनात्मा में आत्मा का अध्यास होने पर अनात्मा में आत्मा के तादात्म्य सम्बन्ध का अध्यास होता है। आत्मा का स्वरूप अध्यस्त नहीं होता है।

(२) सम्बन्ध के साथ सम्बन्धी का अध्यास :—

आत्मा में देहादि अनात्मा के सम्बन्ध और स्वरूप दोनों ही अध्यस्त होते हैं. इसीको सम्बन्ध के साथ सम्बन्धी का अध्यास कहा जाता है।

(३) केवल धर्मी का अध्यास :—

आत्मा में स्थूल देह के धर्म श्यामत्व, गौरत्व आदि एवं इन्द्रिय के धर्म दर्शन-श्रवण आदि को केवल धर्मी अध्यास कहा जाता है। इसमें स्वरूपाध्यास नहीं होता है।

(४) धर्म के साथ धर्मी का अध्यास :—

अन्तःकरण के धर्म कर्तृत्व आदि और स्वरूप दोनों आत्मा में अध्यस्त होने पर धर्म के साथ धर्मी का अध्यास कहा जाता है।

(५) अन्योऽन्याध्यास :—

तपे हुए लोहे के समान आत्मा में अनात्मा का एवं अनात्मा में आत्मा के अध्यास को अन्योऽन्याध्यास कहते हैं।

(६) अन्यतराध्यास :—

अनात्मा में आत्मा का स्वरूप अध्यस्त नहीं होता है, किन्तु आत्मा में अनात्मा का स्वरूप अध्यस्त होता है, ऐसी स्थिति में दो में एक का अध्यास होने से अन्यतराध्यास कहा जाता है। ज्ञानाध्यास :—यह जिस वस्तु में जो नहीं है उस वस्तु में उसका ज्ञान होना है। जैसे—शुक्ति में रजत जब अध्यस्त का विषय होता है तब उसको अर्थाध्यास

कहा जाता है, वैसे ही शुक्ति में रजत का ज्ञान अध्यस्त विषयक ज्ञान होने से ज्ञानाध्यास कहा जाता है। इसी प्रकार आत्मा में अनात्मज्ञान को ज्ञानाध्यास कहा जाता है।

भ्रम का ही दूसरा नाम अज्ञान या अविद्या है। इसीको मूलाज्ञान या मूलाविद्या तूलाज्ञान या तूलाविद्या कहा जाता है। इसी की सहायता से सभी व्यवहार चलते हैं।

भ्रान्ति का आधार :

अध्यास या भ्रान्ति का आधार सत्य है, किन्तु इसमें जिसका आरोप किया जाता है, वह मिथ्या है, फिर भी आरोप वस्तु बन्ध्या के पुत्र के समान असत् नहीं है। असत् मानने पर सर्प की प्रतीति और रजत की प्रतीति नहीं हो सकती है। इसीलिए शङ्कराचार्य ने कहा है कि आरोप्य तत्त्व अनिर्वचनीय है।

शङ्कराचार्य ने अपने शारीरक भाष्य में श्रुति और स्मृति से अनेक वचन उद्धृत कर प्रमाणित कर दिया है कि जगत् मिथ्या है एवं ब्रह्म सत्य है और ब्रह्म में जगत् की भ्रान्ति है। इतना ही नहीं, योगवाशिष्ठ रामायण में भी यह पुनः पुनः कहा गया है कि ब्रह्म में जगत् विवर्त होता है। योगवाशिष्ठ रामायण के तृतीय सर्ग के प्रारम्भ में ही कहा गया है कि आकाश में वस्तुतः रूप न रहने पर भी जिस प्रकार आकाश में नीलिमा का भ्रम होता है, वैसे ही जगत् की वास्तविक सत्ता न रहने पर भी ब्रह्म में ही जगत् का भ्रम होता है। महाभारत आदि विशिष्ट ग्रन्थों में भी इसकी चर्चा पुनः पुनः की गई है।

प्राचीन आचार्यों ने अपने ग्रन्थों में बीज के रूप में जिस अध्यासवाद का ग्रहण किया है, उसी को दार्शनिक प्रवर आचार्य शङ्कर ने वृक्षरूप में परिणत किया है। शंकराचार्य के भाष्य के टीकाकारों ने अध्यास के सम्बन्ध में अनेक रूप में विविध आलोचनायें प्रस्तुत की है। श्रीमान् रामानुजाचार्य, व्यासतीर्थ एवं माधवमुकुन्द आदि वैष्णवाचार्यों के आक्रमणों से उत्तरपक्ष की रचना के द्वारा इस अध्यासवाद की सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्म व्याख्या की गई है। अध्यासवाद का सिद्धान्त यही है कि अखण्डचेतन अद्वयब्रह्म ही मूल तत्त्व है, उसी ब्रह्म में जडात्मक जगत् का अध्यास होता है। ब्रह्म की एक अनिर्वचनीया शक्ति है उसी के प्रादुर्भाव से जगत् की उत्पत्ति होती है एवं वही ब्रह्म अन्तःकरणादि के द्वारा परिच्छिन्न होकर जीवरूप में प्रतिभात होता है। वही ब्रह्म उस शक्ति के वश घट पद आदि के रूप में प्रतिभात होता है। ब्रह्म की अनिर्वचनीया शक्ति को ही शास्त्र में ~~ऐसी शक्ति~~, अज्ञानशक्ति, सृष्टिशक्ति, जगद्योनि, माया, मूलप्रकृति आदि कहा जाता है। यह अज्ञान अनादि है किन्तु सान्त है। इस अज्ञान

के प्रभाव से ही ब्रह्म में जगत् का अध्यास होता है, किन्तु अधिष्ठानभूत ब्रह्म के ज्ञान से अज्ञान का नाश होता है।

अध्यासभाष्य में सम्भावित पूर्वपक्ष का उद्भावन एवं उसका खण्डन कर अध्यास की स्थापना की गई है। जैसे—एक वस्तु में अन्य वस्तु का अवभास या ज्ञान होने पर उसका नाम अध्यास होने से रस्सी में सर्प का अध्यास होता है। किन्तु इन स्थलों में सादृश्य देखा जाता है। जैसे—सर्प के साथ रस्सी का सादृश्य है एवं रजत के साथ शुक्ति का सादृश्य है। अतः सादृश्य रहने पर ही अध्यास या भ्रम हो सकता है। अनात्मा के साथ आत्मा का कोई सादृश्य नहीं है, जगत् या अनात्मा आत्मा से विरुद्ध धर्मवाला है अतः इन विरुद्ध धर्मवालों में अध्यास कैसे हो सकता है ?

दूसरी बात यह है कि विषय में ही अन्य विषय का अध्यास हो सकता है। जैसे—रस्सी और सर्प दोनों ही विषय हैं एवं शुक्ति और रजत ये दोनों भी विषय हैं। विषय इन्द्रियगोचर पदार्थ है। किन्तु आत्मा या ब्रह्म विषयी है, रस्सी और साँप दोनों का प्रत्यक्ष होता है, अतः रस्सी में सांप का अध्यास हो सकता है, किन्तु जो अविषय है, विषय का पुरोवर्त्ती एवं परोक्ष है, उसमें अन्य का अध्यास कैसे हो सकता है ? आत्मा में अनात्मा को या ब्रह्म में जगत् का अध्यास नहीं हो सकता है।

इसके उत्तर में इन लोगों का कहना है कि आत्मा और अनात्मा दोनों ही भाव-वस्तु हैं। अतः भावत्व रूप सादृश्य इन दोनों में है। विशेष यह है कि अनात्मा मिथ्या है और आत्मा सत्य है। अध्यास के स्थल में कुछ विरुद्ध धर्म भी रहते हैं। रस्सी और सर्प में भी तो कतिपय विरुद्ध धर्म है, अतः प्रथम आपत्ति समीचीन नहीं है।

द्वितीय आपत्ति के सम्बन्ध में इनलोगों ने कहा है कि आत्मा साक्षात् अपरोक्ष वस्तु है, परोक्ष वस्तु नहीं है। विवेक के समय अनध्यास की दशा में ही ब्रह्म निरुपाधिक और निरंश है, किन्तु अनादि अविवेक दशा में वह सोपाधिक और सांश रूप में अहं वृत्ति का होकर ही उसमें देहादि का अध्यास सम्भव होता है। अतः द्वितीय पूर्वपक्ष भी व्यर्थ है।

वस्तुतः अद्वैत सिद्धान्त की अवगति न कर इन पूर्वपक्षों की उद्भावना होती है। इतना सत्य है कि अध्यास की सिद्धि के अधीन ही अद्वैतवेदान्त की प्रतिष्ठा है।

विदितसकलवेद्यैर्नं प्रशंसन्ति लोके
प्रथितमपि महद्भिः किं पुनर्मादृशेन।
इति विफलश्रमेऽस्मिन् वाग्व्ययेऽहं प्रवृत्तः
स्वमतिविमलतायै क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति सन्तः ॥[1]

---

१. वि० पृ० १४

अध्यास की अनुपपत्ति—एक दृष्टि

डा० सी० एन० मिश्र, एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, साहित्यरत्न, वेदान्ताचार्य।
टी० एन० बी० कालेज, भागलपुर।

अध्यास में सत्य अधिष्ठान, सत्य प्रधान, सत्य संस्कार, सत्य इन्द्रिय सन्निकर्ष, सत्य दोष, सत्य अज्ञान, सत्य बाधकज्ञान, सत्य द्रष्टा, सत्य देहेन्द्रियादि, सत्य काल, सत्य देश और सत्य अदृष्ट ये सामग्रियाँ एकान्तरूप से आवश्यक हैं। इनमें अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के सम्मत उक्त अध्यास में सत्य प्रधान और सत्य अधिष्ठान सिद्ध नहीं है। अध्यास में "नितान्त आवश्यकीय अन्य सत्य संस्कार, सत्य सादृश्य, सत्य इन्द्रिय-सन्निकर्ष आदि सामग्री अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के अनुसार संगत नहीं हो सकती है। अतः, इनके मत में अध्यास की उपपत्ति कैसे हो सकती है? अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के मत में पूर्व—पूर्व कल्पित विश्व का अनुभवजन्य संस्कार ही विश्व के अध्यास में कारण होता है। संस्कार का जनक जो अनुभव, उसी अनुभव का विषयीभूत विश्व की सत्यता विश्व के अध्यास का कारण नहीं है—यही वे लोग कहते हैं। यह स्वीकार करने पर आपत्ति हो सकती है कि—कल्प के आरम्भ में जो विश्व का अध्यास अर्थात् भ्रम होता है, उसके पूर्व में प्रमाणभूत दूसरा विश्व नहीं है। अतः अनुभवजन्य संस्कार न रहने के कारण कल्प के आरम्भ में विश्व का अध्यास नहीं हो सकता है। इस आपत्ति के खण्डन के लिए अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं को यह मानना पड़ेगा कि दूसरे कल्प में कल्पित जगत् का अनुभवजनित जो संस्कार उस संस्कार से ही कल्प के आदि में विश्व का अध्यास अर्थात् भ्रम होता है एवं इस प्रकार परम्पराक्रम में वह संस्कार अनादि है—यह भी स्वीकार करना होगा। यह स्वीकार करने पर द्वैतवादियों ने आपत्ति की है कि संस्कार को अनादि मानने पर संस्कार की भी अधिष्ठानभूत ब्रह्म के समान ही सत्ता रहेगी—ब्रह्म के समान संस्कार भी अनादि होने से ब्रह्म में जैसी सत्ता है वैसी ही सत्ता संस्कार में भी रहेगी। ब्रह्म के समान संस्कार की भी पारमार्थिक सत्ता माननी होगी। ऐसा मानने पर अद्वैतसिद्धान्त नहीं रह सकेगा।[1]

यदि अद्वैतवेदान्ती कहें कि संस्कार के द्वारा आरोपित संस्कार ही संस्कार के आरोप का कारण होता है। अतः संस्कार आरोपित होकर सत्य नहीं है। किन्तु

१. संस्कारसादृश्यसम्प्रयोगादीनामध्यासे ह्यावश्यकानामभावेन कथमध्यासोपपत्तिरिति भावः। तत्र संस्काराणामनादित्वे अधिष्ठानसमसत्ताकत्वेन तस्य तात्त्विकत्वोपपत्तेर्दुर्वारत्वम्॥
परपक्षगिरिवज्र पृ० ६४ (वृन्दावन प्रकाशन)

अद्वैतवेदान्ती का यह कथन समीचीन नहीं है। कारण, भ्रमरूप कार्य होने के बाद उस भ्रमरूप कार्य के द्वारा उसका पूर्ववर्त्ती संस्कार अनुमेय होता है—संस्कार था यह अवगत होता है। भ्रम के पूर्व में उस कार्यानुमेय संस्कार को आरोपित नहीं कहा जा सकता है। कारण, आरोपित वस्तु की अज्ञात सत्ता रहना सम्भव नहीं है। अतः भ्रम के पूर्व में कार्यानुमेय संस्कार आरोपित न होने से अद्वैतवेदान्तियों का यह कथन कि "आरोपित संस्कार ही संस्कार आरोप का कारण होता है—"यह सम्भव नहीं हो सकता है। कारण होने ले संस्कार को आरोपित नहीं कहा जा सकता है।[1]

इसके समाधान में अद्वैतवेदान्ती का कथन है कि भ्रम के पूर्व में अज्ञात संस्कार की व्यावहारिक सत्ता हमलोग मानते हैं। अतः संस्कार के द्वारा आरोपित अज्ञात व्यावहारिक संस्कार ही संस्कार के आरोप का कारण होता है। इसलिए द्वैताद्वैत-वादिओं के द्वारा प्रदर्शित दोष की सम्भावना नहीं है।

इसके उत्तर में द्वैताद्वैतवादी कहते हैं कि यह कथन समीचीन नहीं है। कारण, अज्ञात संस्कार आरोपित होता है—इसमें कोई प्रमाण नहीं है। ज्ञात वस्तु का ही आरोप होता है, अज्ञात वस्तु का आरोप कभी भी सम्भव नहीं है। इसलिए अज्ञात वस्तु का आरोप है इसमें कोई प्रमाण नहीं होने से भ्रमरूप कार्य का कारणीभूत संस्कार को परमार्थ सत्य ही मानना होगा। संस्कार की परमार्थ-सत्ता मानने पर अद्वैतसिद्धान्त नहीं रह सकेगा।[2]

दूसरी विचारणीय बात यह है कि अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के मत में उक्त संस्कार का आश्रय कौन है? शुद्ध ब्रह्म ही संस्कार का आश्रय है? अथवा जीव संस्कार का आश्रय है? शुद्ध ब्रह्म संस्कार का आश्रय मानने पर उसमें शुद्धत्व नहीं रहेगा। जीव भी संस्कार का आश्रय नहीं हो सकता है। कारण, अध्यास-आरोप होने पर ही जीवभाव सम्पन्न होता है और उसी अध्यास का कारण संस्कार है। अतः संस्कार को पूर्वसिद्ध मानना होगा। इसलिए अध्यास के कारण के रूप में जो पूर्वसिद्ध है उसी संस्कार का अध्यास के बाद सिद्ध होनेवाला जीव कैसे हो सकता है? इसकी उपपत्ति किसी प्रकार भी सम्भव नहीं है। इस प्रकार अध्यास की सामग्री—संस्कार की सिद्धि न होने से अद्वैतवेदान्ती के मत में अध्यास सिद्ध नहीं हो सकता है।[3]

---

१. न च स्वेनाध्यस्त एवं स्वारोपहेतुरिति वाच्यम्, भ्रमात् पूर्वं स्वस्य कार्यानुमेयसंस्कारस्य अध्यस्तत्वाभावेन अध्यासकारणत्वासम्भवात्। परपक्षगिरिव्रज पृ० ९४

२. अज्ञातस्य अध्यस्तत्वे मानाभावेन पारमार्थिक प्रसंगात्। वही पृ० ९४

३. को वा संस्काराश्रयः, शुद्धं ब्रह्म वा जीवो वा?

स्मर्य्यमाण आरोप के प्रति प्रधान और अधिष्ठान का सादृश्य-ज्ञान भी कारण होता है। जैसे प्रधानभूत और अधिष्ठानभूत शुक्ति का सादृश्य होने से शुक्ति में रजत का आरोप होता है। अद्वैतवेदान्ती ब्रह्म में अविद्या या प्रपञ्च का अध्यास—आरोप स्वीकार करते हैं, किन्तु उनके मत में अधिष्ठानभूत ब्रह्म निर्विशेष है, कोई विशेष धर्म ब्रह्म में नहीं है। अतः गुणक्रियादिकृत किसी सादृश्य का ब्रह्म में रहना सम्भव नहीं है। इसलिए सादृश्यशून्य ब्रह्म में अविधा या प्रपञ्च का अध्यास अर्थात् आरोप कैसे सम्भव होगा ? शास्त्र में ब्रह्म के सदृश संसार में कुछ नहीं है—यही कहा गया है। फलतः सादृश्य न होने से भी ब्रह्म में अविद्या—प्रपञ्च का अध्यास सम्भव नहीं है।[1]

इसके समाधान में अद्वैतवादियों का कथन है कि हमलोग भी ब्रह्म में कल्पित धर्म मानते हैं, उस कल्पित धर्म के द्वारा ब्रह्म में सादृश्य की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो जायेगी और उसी सादृश्य के आधार रर ब्रह्म में अविद्या या प्रपञ्च का अध्यास अर्थात् आरोप हो सकता है। किन्तु इनका यह समाधान समीचीन नहीं है। कारण, निर्धर्म्मक ब्रह्म में जिस कल्पित धर्म को स्वीकार करेंगे वह कल्पित धर्म भी अध्यास के अधीन है—अध्यास की अपेक्षा करता है। इसलिए अध्यास होने पर ही ब्रह्म में कल्पित धर्म है—यह सिद्ध हो सकता है। इस प्रकार अध्यास की सिद्धि होने पर कल्पित धर्म के द्वारा सादृश्य की सिद्धि होने पर अध्यास की सिद्धि होगी, फलतः अन्योन्याश्रय दोष का प्रसंग होगा। प्रदर्शित अन्योन्याश्रय दोष होने से कल्पित धर्म के द्वारा सादृश्य की स्थिति अद्वैतवेदान्ती उपपन्न नहीं कर सकते हैं।

अविद्या का आरोप अनादि होने से उसमें कारण की अपेक्षा नहीं है, कारण के बिना ही अनादि अविद्या का आरोप है। अतः अनादि अविद्या के आरोप में सादृश्य की अपेक्षा यह भी अद्वैतवेदान्ती नहीं कह सकते हैं। कारण, अनादि अविद्या के आरोप में यदि सादृश्य आदि कारण की अपेक्षा नहीं रहे तो ब्रह्मरूप अधिष्ठान की भी अपेक्षा नहीं स्वीकार की जायेगी। अनादि अविद्या के आरोप में अधिष्ठान की अपेक्षा नहीं रहे तो अनादि अविद्यारोप परमार्थ सत्य हो जायेगा। अधिष्ठान अज्ञान का विषयीभूत होकर आरोप का कारण होता है एवं ज्ञान का विषयीभूत होकर आरोप निवृत्ति का कारण होता है। अनादि अविद्या के आरोप में अधिष्ठान की अपेक्षा न होने पर उस आरोप निवृत्ति का कारण होता है। अनादि अविद्या आरोप में अधिष्ठान की अपेक्षा न रहने पर उस आरोप की निवृत्ति किसी समय भी सम्भव नहीं होगी। अतः अनादि अविद्यारोप

१. स्मर्य्यमाणारोपे सादृश्यज्ञानस्यापि हेतुत्वात्, प्रकृते तु निर्विशेषस्य अधिष्ठानस्य सादृश्याभावात् कथमध्यासः ? "न तस्य प्रतिमास्तीह" इति निषेधश्रवणात्। वही पृ० ९४

परमार्थसत्य हो जायेगा। ऐसा होने पर अद्वैत-सिद्धान्त समाप्त हो जायेगा एवं उनके मत में मोक्षशास्त्र का प्रयास व्यर्थ हो जायगा।

द्वैताद्वैतवादियों का कथन है कि "शुक्ति रजत" आदि निरुपाधिक भ्रम में अवश्य ही सादृश्यज्ञान की अपेक्षा है। सादृश्य रहने पर ही निरुपाधिक भ्रम होता है अन्यथा निरुपाधिक भ्रम नहीं होगा और "रक्त स्फटिक" इत्यादि सोपाधिक भ्रम में दूसरे सादृश्य की सम्भावना न होने पर भी अन्ततः द्रव्यत्वादिरूप में सादृश्य है। उस सादृश्य के आधार पर ही सोपाधिक भ्रम होता है। अतः भ्रम होने पर ही उसमें प्रधान और अधिष्ठान सत्य सादृश्य है[1]।

निर्विशेष ब्रह्म में सादृश्य की सत्ता की उत्पत्ति न होने पर यदि अद्वैतवेदान्ती यह कहें कि—भ्रम में सादृश्य रहता ही है—यह नियम नहीं है। सोपाधिक भ्रम में सादृश्य

१. सोपाधिक और निरुपाधिक के भेद से भ्रम दो प्रकार के हैं—उपाधि के सान्निध्य से जो भ्रम होता है, उसको सोपाधिक भ्रम कहा जाता है और उपाधि के बिना जो भ्रम होता है उसको निरुपाधिक भ्रम कहा जाता है। उपाधि शब्द का अर्थ-उप-समीपे स्वधर्मम् आदधाति इति उपाधिः। जो वस्तु अपने सन्निहित धर्मी में अपने धर्म का आसञ्जन करता है उसको उपाधि कहते हैं। अपने सन्निहित धर्मों में अपने धर्म का आसञ्जकत्व ही उपाधित्व है। जैसे जवाकुसुम अपने सन्निहित स्फटिक में अपने लौहित्य का आसञ्जन करता है। अतः स्फटिक लौहित्य में जवाकुसुम उपाधि है। स्फटिक स्वभावतः स्वच्छ है। जवाकुसुम आदि के सान्निध्य से वह स्फटिक रक्तादि रूप में प्रतीत होता है। जवाकुसुम में रहनेवाला लौहित्य ही स्फटिक के रूप में भासमान होता है। इसलिए स्फटिक शिला का लौहित्य सोपाधिक है। लालिमा स्फटिक शिला का अपना धर्म नहीं है। अतः स्फटिक शिला का लौहित्य प्रतीति भ्रम है। यह भ्रम सोपाधिक है। न्यायशास्त्र की उपाधि भी ऐसी है। अपने धर्म का आसञ्जन करना ही उपाधि पद का प्रवृत्ति निमित्त है। जवाकुसुमादि उपाधि जिस प्रकार स्फटिक आदि में अपने धर्म का आसञ्जन करती है, वैसे ही न्यायशास्त्र में भी उपाधि अपने समीपवर्त्ती हेतु में—स्वसमानाधिकरण हेतु में अपने धर्म साध्य-निरूपितव्याप्ति का आसञ्जन करती है। इसीलिए जवाकुसुम के समान वह भी उपाधि शब्द से कहा जाता है। जिनके मत में साध्यसमव्याप्तिरूप उपाधि है, उनके मत में भी उपाधि पद अनुगतार्थक हो जाता है। यह मत आचार्य उदयन सम्मत है। गङ्गेश उपाध्याय आदि नवीन नैयायिक साध्यसमव्याप्ति को उपाधि न मानकर साध्य के व्यापक धर्म को ही उपाधि मानते हैं। इसलिए उनके मत में उपाधि पद परिभाषा मात्र है। साध्य का व्याप्य होकर व्यापक होने पर समव्याप्य होता है। जो केवल व्यापक है, उसमें साध्यनिरूपित व्याप्ति नहीं है अर्थात् वह साध्य का व्याप्य नहीं है। उपाधि साध्य का व्याप्य न होने पर उपाधि हेतु में अपने धर्म व्याप्ति का आसञ्जन करने में समर्थ नहीं होती है। उपाधि की दूषकता में उपाधि का साध्यव्याप्यत्व अनावश्यक है। केवल साध्य का व्यापकत्व ही आवश्यक है। इसीलिए नवीन नैयायिकों ने अनपेक्षित होने से उपाधि का साध्यव्याप्यत्व स्वीकार नहीं किया है।

निरुपाधिक अध्यास में उपाधि का सान्निध्य नहीं रहता है। जैसे शुक्ति में रजत का अध्यास शुक्ति में रजत के अध्यासकाल में रजत के सान्निध्य की आवश्यकता नहीं होती है। शुक्तिसन्निहित रजत का धर्म शुक्ति में आरोपित नहीं होता है। रजतानुभवजन्य संस्कार उद्बुद्ध होने पर एवं अध्यास के अन्य कारणों के रहने पर रजत का अध्यास होता है।

नहीं रहता है, परन्तु निरुपाधिक भ्रम में भी सर्वत्र सादृश्य की स्थिति नहीं देखी जाती है। जैसे—सादृश्य के विना भी "पीतः शङ्खः" इस प्रकार का निरुपाधिक भ्रम होता है। अतः सादृश्य के न रहने पर भी जब भ्रम होता है, तब ब्रह्म में सादृश्य न रहने पर भी उसमें अविद्यादि का अध्यास उपपन्न होता है। किन्तु अद्वैतियों का यह कथन समीचीन नहीं है। कारण, "पीतः शङ्खः" इत्यादि निरुपाधिक भ्रम में भी द्रव्यत्वादिरूप में सादृश्य है ही। अतः, द्रव्यत्वादि सादृश्य के आधार पर निरुपाधिक भ्रम होता है।

यदि अद्वैतवेदान्ती यह कहें कि जो धर्म पूर्व में मात्र प्रधान में रहते हैं एवं भ्रम-काल में ही अधिष्ठान में हैं—यह प्रतीत होता है, उसी धर्म का सादृश्य ही निरुपाधिक किसी-किसी भ्रम में कारण होते हैं। किन्तु जो धर्म पूर्व से ही प्रधान और अधिष्ठान उभय में ही प्रतीत होते हैं, उस धर्म का सादृश्य भ्रम का कारण नहीं होता है। वह सादृश्य संशय का ही कारण होता है। उस सादृश्य के आधार पर संशय उत्पन्न होता है। अतः द्वैताद्वैतवादियों ने जो कहा है कि "पीतः शङ्खः" आदि निरुपाधिक भ्रम में भी द्रव्यत्वादिरूप में सादृश्य है—उनका यह कथन समीचीन नहीं है। कारण, "पीतः शङ्ख" आदि स्थल में द्रव्यत्वादि धर्म प्रधान और अधिष्ठान इन दोनों में है—यह पूर्व से ही अवगत है। अतः द्रव्यत्वादि धर्मरूप सादृश्य भ्रम का कारण नहीं है, किन्तु यह द्रव्यत्वादि धर्मरूप सादृश्य साधारण धर्मविशिष्ट धर्मी के ज्ञानरूप में संशय का ही कारण होता है[1]।

अद्वैतियों का यह कथन भी समीचीन नहीं है। कारण, चाकचिक्यादि धर्मरूप सादृश्य शुक्ति और रजत दोनों में ही है फिर भी शुक्ति में रजत का आरोप होता है। अतः अद्वैतियों ने जो यह कहा कि 'जो धर्म पूर्व से ही प्रधान और अधिष्ठान में है—यह प्रतीत होता है, वह धर्मरूप सादृश्य भ्रम का कारण नहीं है वरन् संशय का कारण है" यह वे नहीं कह सकते हैं। वस्तुतः आशय यह है कि शुक्ति रजत आदि भ्रम में आरोप्य रजतत्व आदि धर्म के विरोधी पक्ष रजतत्व आदि का अभाव या शुक्तित्व आदि धर्म का ज्ञान न होने से यह चाकचिक्यादि धर्मरूप सादृश्य संशय का कारण नहीं होता है। अधिष्ठान और प्रधान इन दोनों में ही ऐसे धर्म से युक्त धर्मी का ज्ञान ही केवल संशय का कारण नहीं है, किन्तु अधिष्ठान और प्रधान इन दोनों में है। ऐसे धर्म से युक्त धर्मी का ज्ञान से जन्य जो दो पक्षों की उपस्थिति—प्रतीति है—वही संशय का कारण है।

---

१. प्रधानमात्रवृत्तितया प्रागवगतमध्यासकाले एवाधिष्ठानतया गृहीतं यत् तदेव सादृश्यं तत्र हेतुः। न तु प्रागेव प्रधानाधिष्ठानोभयवृत्तितया गृहीतं तस्य संशायकत्वात्। वही पृ० ९५

शुक्ति रजत भ्रम में रजतत्व का विरोधी रजतत्वाभाव या शुक्तित्व का ज्ञान नहीं होने पर संशय नहीं होता है। अतः अद्वैतिश्रों की युक्ति समीचीन नहीं है[1]।

यदि अद्वैतवादी यह कहें कि सादृश्य-ज्ञान साक्षात् भ्रम का कारण नहीं है; क्योंकि इसमें कोई प्रमाण नहीं है। किन्तु सादृश्यज्ञान संस्कार का उद्‌बोध कर कदाचित् संस्काररूप भ्रम सामग्री के सम्पादकरूप में भ्रम का परम्परारूप में कारण होता है। संस्कार का उद्‌बोध केवल सादृश्यज्ञान से ही नहीं होता है। कारण, सादृश्यज्ञान न रहने पर भी अदृष्टादि के द्वारा संस्कार का उद्‌बोध सम्भव हो सकता है। शास्त्रकार ने ही कहा है—सम्पृतिजनक संस्कार का उद्‌बोधक सादृश्य; अदृष्ट, चिन्ता आदि हैं।

अद्वैतवेदान्तिश्रों का यह कथन भी ठीक नहीं है। कारण, कार्य को देखने से कारण अनुमित होता है। ऐसा मानने पर अदृष्ट भी फल-दर्शन के बाद अनुमित होगा। आरोप के पूर्व में संस्कार के जनक के रूप में अज्ञात अदृष्टादि रहता है, इसमें कोई प्रमाण नहीं है। प्रमाण रहने पर ही यह कल्पना की जा सकती है।

यथार्थ ज्ञान का प्रामाण्य स्वतः एवं अयथार्थ का अप्रामाण्य परतः होता है—यही मीमांसकों ने स्वीकार किया है। सभी अप्रमा—अयथार्थ ज्ञान दोषजन्य है—यही आस्तिकों का सिद्धान्त है। ज्ञान स्वभावतः अप्रमा है—यह बौद्धों ने माना है। बौद्ध-मतावलम्बी अप्रामाण्य में स्वतस्त्व मानते हैं।

सादृश्यादि दोष के बिना भी भ्रम होता है—यह यदि अद्वैतवेदान्ती करें तब अध्यास अर्थात् भ्रम स्वभावतः अप्रमा है—यह कहा गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में उस भ्रम-निष्ठ अप्रमा का—अयथार्थज्ञान के स्वतस्त्व की आपत्ति हो जायेगी। अद्वैतिश्रों के मत में भ्रम दोषजन्य न होने पर भी यदि अप्रमा अर्थात् अयथार्थ ज्ञान हो तब अद्वैती बौद्धसिद्धान्त ही स्वीकार करते हैं—यह मानना पड़ेगा। अतः दोष के बिना भ्रम होता है—यह स्वीकार करने पर बौद्धसम्मत अप्रामाण्य के स्वतस्त्व की आपत्ति अद्वैतवेदान्तिश्रों के लिए अनिवार्य हो जायेगी और यदि वे यह स्वीकार करें कि भ्रम दोषजन्य ही होता है तब वह दोष भी अध्यस्त है अर्थात् आरोपित है यही मानना होगा। इस प्रकार इस दोष को भी अन्य दोष से जन्य मानना होगा और ऐसी स्थिति में अनवस्था दोष की प्रसक्ति होगी।

इस आपत्ति में यदि अद्वैतवेदान्ती यह कहें कि अविद्याध्यास अनादि होने से इसमें दोष की अपेक्षा नहीं है। अनादि अविद्याध्यास दोषजन्य नहीं है। जो अनादि है, वह जन्य नहीं है, ऐसी स्थिति में वह दोषजन्य कैसे होगा? सादि अध्यास—भ्रम ही दोष-

१. वही पृ० ६६।

जन्य होता है। सादि अध्यास ही अविद्यारूप दोष से जन्य होता है। सादि अध्यास ही दोषजन्य होने से अप्रामाण्य के स्वतस्त्व की आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती है। अविद्याध्यास अनादि अध्यास उसमें अप्रामाण्य के स्वतस्त्व की आपत्ति नहीं की जा सकती है, कारण-जन्य ज्ञान में ही प्रामाण्य और अप्रामाण्य के स्वतस्त्व और परतस्त्व की प्रसक्ति होती है। अविद्याध्यास जन्य नहीं है, वह अनादि है। अविद्याध्यास बाधित होने से ही उसका अप्रामाण्य होता है। सादि अध्यास अविद्यारूप दोष से जन्य है, वविद्या अनादि होने से अनवस्था दोष की सम्भावना नहीं है।

अद्वैतवेदान्ती का यह कथन है कि यह आपत्ति समीचीन नहीं है। अविद्याध्यास अनादि होने से उसमें जिस प्रकार दोष की अपेक्षा नहीं है वैसे ही अविद्याध्यास में अधिष्ठान की भी अपेक्षा नहीं रहे। फलतः अविद्याध्यास के अधिष्ठानरूप में ब्रह्म की भी आपत्ति नहीं होगी—यह आपत्ति आपत्ति भी नहीं होगी। अविद्याध्यास में जनकत्व-रूप में अधिष्ठान की अपेक्षा न होने पर भी आश्रयत्वरूप में अधिष्ठान की अपेक्षा है। सभी अध्यास किसी-न-किसी आश्रय में ही होता है—यह देखा गया है। आश्रय के विना कोई भी अध्यास नहीं हो सकता है। आश्रय ही अधिष्ठान है। अतः अविद्याध्यास के आश्रयत्व के रूप में अधिष्ठान की अपेक्षा है। अविद्याध्यास का अधिष्ठान ही ब्रह्म है।

अद्वैतवेदान्तियों का पूर्व प्रदर्शित सिद्धान्त समीचीन नहीं है; कारण, सभी अध्यास दोषजन्य होते हैं—यह देखा जाता है अर्थात् अध्यास के प्रति दोषादि कारण है। दोषादि-रूप कारण के विना अध्यासरूप-कार्य कभी नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए अविद्याध्यास अनादि नहीं हो सकता है। अतः अविद्याध्यास को अनादि मानकर जो इनलोगों ने दोष के परिहार का प्रयास किया है—वह व्यर्थ है[१]।

जिसमें अध्यासत्व रहता है; उसमें सादित्व रहता है, जैसे—शुक्तिरजत। शुक्तिरजत मे अध्यासत्व है तो उसमें सादित्व भी है—यही अन्वयव्याप्ति है। जिसमें अनादित्व रहता है, उसमें अध्यासत्व नहीं रहता है; जैसे—आत्मा। आत्मा में अनादित्व है अतः उसमें अध्यासत्व नहीं है—यह व्यतिरेकव्याप्ति है। यह अन्वयव्याप्ति और व्यतिरेकव्याप्ति जिस प्रकार सादि अध्यास में है वैसे ही अद्वैतसम्मत अनादि

---

१. न चाविद्याध्यासस्य अनादित्वेन दोषानपेक्षावदधिष्ठानस्यापि अनपेक्षापात इति वाच्यम्, जनकत्वेनानपेक्षत्वेऽपि अध्यासमात्रस्य साश्रयत्वदर्शनात् तदाश्रयतया तदनपेक्षणादिति चेन्न, अध्यासमात्रस्य अनादित्वासम्भवात्।

अध्यास में भी कोई व्याप्ति है—यह अवगत नहीं होता है। इसलिए अविद्याध्यास को अनादि नहीं कह सकते हैं [१]।

सम्मुखवर्ती इन्द्रियसंयुक्त विषय में ही विषयान्तर का अध्यास होता है—यह देखा गया है। दृश्य सभी वस्तुएं विषय हैं, विषय पराधीन प्रकाश और अंशवान् होते हैं। इसलिए इन्द्रियसंयुक्त विषय सामान्यरूप में ज्ञात और विशेषरूप में अज्ञात रहने पर उसमें विषयान्तर का अध्यास होता है। विषय के साथ इन्द्रिय-समूह का सम्बन्ध न होने पर अध्यास नहीं हो सकता है; किन्तु चिदात्मा अर्थात् ब्रह्म पराधीन प्रकाश नहीं है, चिदात्मा स्वयंप्रकाश और निरंश है। अतः चिदात्मा अविषय अर्थात् दृश्यवस्तु नहीं है। चिदात्मा के अविषय होने पर उसमें इन्द्रिय सम्बन्ध एवं सामान्य-रूप में ज्ञातता और विषयरूप में अज्ञातता सम्भव नहीं हो सकती है। अतः अद्वैत-वेदान्तिओं के मत में वैसे अविषय चिदात्मा में दृश्य विषय का अध्यास अर्थात् आरोप किस प्रकार सम्भव हो सकता है। चिदात्मा अविषय होने से उसमें दृश्य विषय का आरोप की कल्पना नहीं कर सकते हैं।

अद्वैतवेदान्ती यदि यह कहें कि चिदात्मा सर्वथा अविषय है—किसी प्रकार भी विषय नहीं होता है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। कारण, चिदात्मा की जीवावस्था में "अहं" इस प्रकार के ज्ञान में विषय होता है। अस्मत् प्रत्यय का अर्थ "अहं" यह भ्रमज्ञान है। अस्मत् प्रत्यय में विषयता का अर्थ—"अहं" इस प्रकार के भ्रमज्ञान में भासमानता हैं। अस्मत्पद का अर्थ चिदात्मा प्रतिबिम्बरूप में जिसमें प्रतीत होता है, वही अस्मत्प्रत्यय-अहंकार है। उस अहंकार में भासमानता ही चिदाहंकार—विषयता अर्थात् चिदात्मा अहंकाराध्यास में विषय होता है—द्वैताद्वैतवादियों की आपत्ति का अवसर नहीं है।

अद्वैतवेदान्ती का यह कथन भी ठीक नहीं है। कारण, ऐसा कहने पर "अध्यास होने पर चिदात्मा की भासमानता अर्थात् विषयता होगी एवं चिदात्मा की भासमानता अर्थात् विषयता होने पर अध्यास होगा इस अन्योऽन्याश्रय दोष की आपत्ति होगी।" अहंकाराध्यास अनादि होने से उक्त अन्योऽन्याश्रय दोष की सम्भावना नहीं है—यह भी अद्वैतवेदान्ती नहीं कह सकते हैं। कारण, अध्यासमात्र दोषजन्य होने से कोई भी अध्यास अनादि नहीं हो सकता है, यह मैंने पूर्व में ही कहा है। अतः

१—यत्राध्यासत्वं तत्र सादित्वं शुक्तिरजतादिवत् यत्र अनादित्वं तत्र नाध्यासत्वम् आत्मवत्-इत्यन्वयव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिवत् अनाद्यध्यासे व्याप्त्यदर्शनात्। वही, पृष्ठ ६८

अद्वैतवेदान्ती अहंकाराध्यास के अनादि होने से प्रदर्शित अन्योऽन्याश्रय दोष का परिहार नहीं कर सकते हैं। अध्यासमात्र दोषजन्य होने से सादि हैं, अनादि नहीं है[1]।

अहंकार का अध्यास होने पर अस्मत् प्रत्यय अर्थात् "अहं" यह ज्ञान हो सकता है। ऐसी स्थिति में प्रथम अहंकाराध्यास में अस्मत् प्रत्यय की प्रतीति कैसे होगी? आदि अहंकार में भी तो अस्मत्प्रत्यय की प्रतीति आवश्यक है। कारण, अस्मत्प्रत्यय में भासमानता ही चिदात्मा की विषयता है। चिदात्मा के विषय होने पर ही तो अहंकाराध्यास हो सकता है। इस आपत्ति का निरसन अद्वैतवेदान्ती किसी प्रकार नहीं कर सकते हैं। चिदात्मा की भासमानता अर्थात् विषयता अहंकाराध्यास से जन्य कहनी पड़ेगी। ऐसी स्थिति में आदि अध्यास के समय में चिदात्मा की भासमानता कैसे होगी? आदि अध्यास के समय में चिदात्मा की भासमानता में कोई प्रमाण नहीं है। आदि अध्यासकाल में चिदात्मा की भासमानता न रहने पर अर्थात् चिदात्मा के विषय न होने पर वह प्रथम अध्यास हो ही नहीं सकता है[2]।

अद्वैतवेदान्ती यदि चिदात्मा की विषयता स्वीकार करें अर्थात् चिदात्मा विषय होता है—यह स्वीकार करें; तब चिदात्मा नेत्रों के द्वारा गृहीत नहीं होता है, वाक्य के द्वारा भी गृहीत नहीं होता है ("न चक्षुषा गृह्यते नापि वाचा" मु० ३।१।८) इत्यादि श्रुतियों के व्याख्यान-काल में उनलोगों ने स्वीकार किया है कि चिदात्मा अविषय होता है— उनका यह सिद्धान्त खण्डित हो जाएगा। अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं ने विषय को मिथ्या माना है, चिदात्मा को भी यदि विषय माना जाएगा तो उसको भी मिथ्या मानना पड़ेगा। ऐसी स्थिति में वह अनुमान भी हो सकता है—आत्मा, मिथ्या है; अस्मत्प्रत्यय का विषय होने से, जो अस्मत्प्रत्यय का विषय होता है वह मिथ्या होता है, जैसे—इनके मत में अहंकार मिथ्या होता है।

दूसरी आपत्ति यह भी है कि शुक्तिरजत आदि भ्रमस्थल में दोष, इन्द्रियसम्प्रयोग और संस्कार आदि कारणों को अधिष्ठान के समान सत्ता विशिष्ट एवं अध्यस्त विषय से अधिक सत्ता विशिष्ट देखे गये हैं। अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के द्वारा स्वीकृत अध्यास में यह सम्भव न होने से उनके मत में अध्यास कैसे हो सकता है? कल्पना तो वैसी हो सकती है जैसा

१—वही, पृष्ठ ९९

२—किञ्चास्मत्प्रत्ययस्य अहंकाराध्यासोत्तरभावित्वेन आद्यध्यासे कथं प्रतीति रित्याशङ्काया निरुद्धत्वात् भासमानत्वस्य अहंकाराध्यासजन्यत्वेन अध्याससमये भासमानतायां मानाभावादित्यर्थः। वही, पृ० १००

देखा जाता है, जैसा नहीं देखा जाता गया है, उसमें विपरीत-कल्पना करना उचित नहीं है। अतः अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के मत में अध्यास उपपन्न नहीं हो सकता है।

अद्वैतवेदान्ती यदि यह कहें कि सम्मुखवर्ती इन्द्रियसंयुक्त विषय ही विषयान्तर का अध्यास होता है, इन्द्रिय के द्वारा जिस विषय का ग्रहण नहीं होता है, उसमें विषयान्तर का अध्यास नहीं होता है—ऐसा कोई नियम नहीं है; क्योंकि आकाश प्रत्यक्ष के अविषयीभूत आकाश में मूर्ख व्यक्ति नीलिमा एवं तल की मलिनता आदि का अध्यास करते हैं अर्थात् प्रत्यक्ष के अविषयीभूत आकाश में पूर्वोक्त भ्रम देखा जाता है। इसी प्रकार आत्मा साक्षात् प्रत्यक्ष का विषय न होने पर भी अर्थात् इन्द्रिय-ग्राह्य न होने पर भी उसमें अनात्मवस्तु का अध्यास अर्थात् भ्रम हो सकता है[1]।

किन्तु अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं का यह कथन ठीक नहीं है। क्योंकि, उनलोगोंके सम्मुखवर्त्ती इन्द्रियसंयुक्त विषय में ही विषयान्तर का अध्यास होता है यह नियम नहीं है इस विषय के समर्थन के लिए आकाश का दृष्टान्त देकर कहा है कि प्रत्यक्ष के अविषयीभूत आत्मा में अनात्मवस्तु के अध्यास के उपपादन का प्रयास किया है, उसमें यह इन्द्रियाग्राह्यत्वरूप अर्थात् प्रत्यक्षज्ञान का अविषयत्वरूप हेतु और दृष्टान्त असिद्ध है। कारण, पञ्चीकृत पञ्चमहाभूत के प्रत्येक महाभूत में ही प्रत्येक महाभूत है। आकाश भी पञ्चीकृत होने से उसमें पृथिव्यादि के गुण-रूपादि के रहने में कोई बाधा नहीं है, आकाश में भी रूप है ही, इसलिए आकाश में जो नीलादि का ज्ञान होता है, वह यथार्थ ही है, भ्रम नहीं है; नीलादि आकाश में अध्यस्त नहीं है एवं आकाश पञ्चीकृत होने से उसका प्रत्यक्ष भी होता है। अतः अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के द्वारा प्रदर्शित आकाश—दृष्टान्त प्रत्यक्ष का अविषयीभूत न होकर प्रत्यक्ष का विषयीभूत होने पर वह असिद्ध हो जाता है एवं इन्द्रियाग्राह्यत्वरूप हेतु आकाश में न रहने से स्वरूपासिद्ध नामक हेत्वाभास होता है। इसीलिए इस प्रकार के हेत्वाभास से हमलोगों ने जो दोष प्रदर्शित किया है—उससे उद्धार नहीं होता है। अतः अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के अनुसार अध्यास की सामग्री न होने से अध्यास सम्भव नहीं है। और, अध्यास की सामग्रीरूप कारण न होने से अध्यासरूप कार्य भी नहीं हो सकता है[2]।

१–ननु पुरोवर्तिनि इन्द्रिसंयुक्ते एव विषये विषयान्तराध्यास इति नास्ति नियमः अप्रत्येऽपि आकाशे वालानां तलमलिनताद्यध्यासदर्शनात्, तथा प्रकृतेऽपि युक्तोऽध्यास इति।

वही, पृ० १००–१०१

२–असिद्धत्वात्– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – अध्याससामग्र्यभावान्नाध्याससम्भवः।

वही, पृ० १०१

अध्यास के अधिष्ठान का खण्डन

श्री रामचन्द्र चौधरी
व्याख्याता, मिथिला शोध संस्थान, दरभंगा

अद्वैतवेदान्तियों के मत में दृश्य-प्रपञ्च मिथ्या है। प्रपञ्च के मिथ्यात्व के अनुमान के प्रसंग में अद्वैतवेदान्तियों ने इसकी विस्तृत व्याख्या की है। अलीक और असत् बन्ध्यापुत्र आदि एवं परमार्थ सत्य ब्रह्म को छोड़कर सभी वस्तु इस मत में मिथ्या है। अज्ञान ही सादि दृश्य प्रपञ्च का उपादान है। अनादि दृश्य प्रपञ्च का उपादान अप्रसिद्ध होने से अज्ञान अनादि दृश्य प्रपञ्च का प्रयोजक होता है। यही कारण है कि अद्वैतवेदान्त के आचार्य दृश्य प्रपञ्चों को अज्ञानजन्य नहीं कहते हैं। कारण, अनादि दृश्य प्रपञ्च का जनक कोई प्रसिद्ध नहीं है, अतः अनादि दृश्य प्रपञ्च अज्ञानजन्य न होने पर भी अज्ञानप्रयुक्त है। फलतः सादि दृश्य अज्ञानजन्य एवं अनादि दृश्य अज्ञानप्रयुक्त है। सादि एवं अनादि दृश्यमात्र के प्रति अज्ञान को प्रयोजक मानने में कोई क्षति नहीं है। अज्ञाननाशजन्य नाशप्रतियोगित्व ही अज्ञानप्रयुक्तत्व है। ब्रह्मविद्या के द्वारा मूलाज्ञान के नाश होने से सादि और अनादि दृश्यमात्र का विनाश हो जाता है। इसीलिये अद्वैतवेदान्ती सादि और अनादि साधारण दृश्यमात्र को अज्ञानजन्य या अज्ञानोपादानक न मानकर अज्ञानप्रयुक्त माना है।

अद्वैतवेदान्तियों के मत में अलीक बन्ध्यापुत्र आदि और परमार्थ सत्य ब्रह्म दृश्य ही नहीं है अतः मिथ्या भी नहीं है। इन दोनों से अतिरिक्त सभी मिथ्या है। इसीलिये इस सिद्धान्त में प्रमाण प्रमेय आदि व्यवहारमात्र ही अज्ञान प्रयुक्त अध्यास-पूर्वक माना गया है। शुद्ध चैतन्य में अज्ञानप्रयुक्त देह, इन्द्रिय और अन्तःकरण आदि का अध्यास न मानने पर प्रमाता प्रमाण और प्रमेय आदि व्यवहार नहीं हो सकता है। इसीलिये व्यवहारमात्र अज्ञानप्रयुक्त अध्यासपूर्वक है। इस विषय की पुष्टि अध्यासभाष्य में स्वयं भाष्यकार शङ्कराचार्य ने भी की है[1]। इसीलिए द्वैतवादी एवं भेदाभेदवादिओं के द्वारा इस मत में प्रदर्शित अधिकारी आदि की अनुपपत्तिरूप

१–तस्मादविद्यावद्विषयाण्येव प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणानि शास्त्राणि च। शां० भा०, पृ० ४२

दोष संगत नहीं है। कारण, विषय, प्रयोजन अधिकारी प्रमाण प्रमेय आदि सभी इस मत में व्यवहार के अन्तर्गत होने से अध्यस्त हैं और अध्यस्त वस्तु में अनुपपत्ति दोष नहीं हो सकता है; सभी अनुपपत्तिओं को निराकरण मात्र अध्यास की महिमा से ही हो जाता है। यह सत्य है कि वेदान्तशास्त्र का प्रतिपाद्य विषय जीव ब्रह्म का ऐक्यब्रह्म स्वरूप होनेसे परमार्थ सत्य है—यह अध्यासरूप नहीं है। अविद्या की निवृत्ति अविद्या का अधिष्ठानभूतब्रह्मस्वरूप होने से वह भी अध्यासरूप नहीं है। किन्तु विषय और प्रयोजन वस्तुतः ब्रह्मस्वरूप होने पर भी विषयत्व और प्रयोजनत्वरूप में दोनों ही कल्पित हैं। अनुभूयमान अनुपपन्न वस्तु ही तो अध्यास है। अनुपपन्न वस्तु में अनुपपत्ति का प्रदर्शन सर्वथा व्यर्थ है। जो स्वभावतः अनुपपन्न है उसमें अनुपपत्ति का प्रदर्शन नहीं किया जाता है। अतः अध्यास की महिमा से ही सभी दोषों का परिहार हो जाता है[1]।

द्वैतवादी एवं भेदवादियों ने कहा है कि अद्वैतवादिओं का पूर्वोक्त कथन संगत नहीं है। कारण, अद्वैतवेदान्त के भाष्यकार ने अध्यासभाष्य में भले ही प्रमाण-प्रमेय आदि व्यवहार को अध्यासमूलक स्वीकार कर लें किन्तु अध्यास का अधिष्ठान, अध्यास में आरोप्य, अध्यास का लक्षण, अध्यास में प्रमाण, और अध्यास की सामग्री आदि न होने से अध्यास सिद्ध ही नहीं हो सकता है। अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं ने शुद्ध चैतन्य में अर्थात् शुद्ध ब्रह्मचैतन्य में दृश्य वस्तुओं का अध्यास स्वीकार किया है। इस अध्यास में प्रदर्शित अधिष्ठान आदि सम्भव नहीं है। दृक्रूप चैतन्य के साथ दृश्यरूप जड़वस्तु का पारमार्थिक सम्बन्ध नहीं हो सकता है। अतः इनलोगों को दृक् और दृश्य का आध्यासिक सम्बन्ध स्वीकार करना होगा और जब अध्यास ही असंगत है तो आध्यासिक-सम्बन्ध कैसे संगत हो सकता है! इस विषय का प्रदर्शन करते हुए द्वैतवादी और भेदाभेदवादी ने अध्यास का शुद्ध चैतन्य-ब्रह्म अधिष्ठान नहीं हो सकता है—यह प्रदर्शित किया है।

भेदाभेदवादिओं ने प्रतिकूल तर्कों का प्रदर्शन पूर्वोक्त विषय के खण्डन के प्रसंग में प्रदर्शित किया है—यदि यह संसार अध्यस्त माना जाय तब कल्पित वस्तु को साधिष्ठान या अधिष्ठान से समन्वित स्वीकार करना होगा। निरधिष्ठान भ्रम स्वीकार करने पर नागार्जुन–सम्मत शून्यवाद की प्रसक्ति होगी; किन्तु कल्पित विश्व साधिष्ठान नहीं हो सकता है। कारण, कल्पित वस्तु के अधिष्ठान का निरूपण सम्भव नहीं है। सामान्य धर्मविशिष्टरूप में ज्ञात होकर विशेष-धर्म-विशिष्ट-

१—अस्मत्सिद्धान्ते सर्वस्याधिकार्यादिकथनस्य अज्ञानप्रयुक्ताध्यासपूर्वकप्रमाणप्रमेयादिव्यवहारान्तर्गतत्वात् न उक्त दोषावकाशः। परपक्षगिरिवज्र पृ० ८३ (वृन्दावन प्रकाशन)

रूप में अज्ञात रहता है,उसी को अध्यस्त या कल्पित वस्तु का अधिष्ठान माना जा सकता है। सामान्य धर्म विशिष्टरूप में ज्ञातता और अज्ञात-विशेषधर्म विशिष्टता ही अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक है। सभी भ्रमज्ञान-स्थल में इसी रूप में अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक देखा गया है। शुक्ति में रजत का भ्रमज्ञान होने के समय शुक्तिरूप अधिष्ठान इदं रूप सामान्यधर्म-विशिष्टरूप में ज्ञात और शुक्तित्व रूप धर्म विशिष्टरूप में अज्ञात ही रहता है। अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के सिद्धान्त में ब्रह्म निःसामान्य और निर्विशेष है, ब्रह्म में सामान्यधर्म या विशेषधर्म कुछ भी नहीं है अर्थात् अनुवृत्तधर्म और व्यावृत्तधर्म कुछ भी नहीं है। अतः अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक सामान्य धर्म विशिष्टरूप में ज्ञातता और अज्ञातविशेष धर्म विशिष्टता निःसामान्य और निर्विशेष ब्रह्म में नहीं रह सकती है इसलिए ब्रह्म अध्यस्त विश्व का अधिष्ठान नहीं हो सकता है[1]।

यदि अद्वैतवेदान्ती यह कहें कि स्वरूपतः ज्ञात होकर विशेष-रूप अज्ञात वस्तु को ही हमलोग अध्यस्त या कल्पित वस्तु को ही अधिष्ठान कहते हैं। अतः स्वरूपतः ज्ञातता और विशेषरूप में अज्ञातता ही अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक है। अज्ञातविशेष धर्मविशिष्टता को अज्ञानत्व का प्रयोजक नहीं कहा जा सकता है। कारण, जिस वस्तु में भ्रम होता है, वही वस्तु अज्ञातविशेष धर्म के कारण अज्ञातविशेष धर्मविशिष्ट होती है और दूसरे वस्तु के ज्ञातविशेष धर्म को लेकर वही वस्तु ज्ञातविशिष धर्मविशेष्ट भी हो सकती है। इसी प्रकार स्थाणु में जो पुरुष का सन्देह होता है, वह स्थाणु भी उसके अज्ञात स्थाणुत्वरूप विशेष धर्म को ग्रहणकर जैसे अज्ञात स्थाणुत्वरूप विशेष धर्म विशिष्ट होता है, उसी प्रकार दूसरे स्थाणु में ज्ञात स्थाणुत्वरुप विशेष धर्म लेकर वही स्थाणु ज्ञात स्थाणुत्वरूप विशेष धर्म विशिष्ट भी हो सकता है। सभी संशय या जो भ्रम का अधिष्ठान अपर वस्तु के ज्ञात विशेष धर्म को लेकर वही अधिष्ठान ज्ञातविशेषधर्मवान् हो सकता है। अतः मात्र अज्ञातविशेषधर्मवत्ता को अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक नहीं कह सकते हैं; किन्तु "उसमें अज्ञात विशेषधर्मवत्ता" इस प्रकार कहना होगा, अर्थात् तत्र=तस्मिन् इस प्रकार कहकर उक्त प्रयोजक को विशेषित करना होगा। अधि-ष्ठानत्व का इस प्रकार प्रयोजक स्वीकार करने पर गौरव ही होगा। लघु प्रयोजक सम्भव होने पर गुरु प्रयोजक का स्वीकार न्यायविरुद्ध है। इसलिए हमलोगों ने स्वरूपतः ज्ञातता और विशेषरूप में अज्ञातता को अधिष्ठान का प्रयोजक मानते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में पूर्वोक्त दोष की सम्भावना नहीं है। इसलिए ब्रह्म स्वरूपतः

१–सामान्यतो ज्ञातत्वे सति अज्ञातविशेषवत्त्वस्य अधिष्ठानत्व प्रयोजकस्य निर्विशेषे निःसामान्ये ब्रह्मण्यसंभवात्। 	अ० गि०, पृ० ८४

ज्ञात और पूर्णानन्दत्वादि विशेषरूप में अज्ञात होने से ब्रह्म में अध्यस्त विश्व का अधिष्ठानत्व उपपन्न होता है[1]।

अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं का यह कथन आपातरमणीय होने पर भी संगत नहीं है। कारण, उनलोगों के मत में ब्रह्म विशेषशून्य है। निर्विशेष ब्रह्म का स्वरूपतः ज्ञान होने पर ही उस विषय का अज्ञान सम्पूर्ण रूप में तिरोहित होगा, अतः स्वरूपतः ज्ञात निर्विशेष ब्रह्म की विशेषरूप में अज्ञातता का कथन ही सम्भव नहीं है। आशय यह है कि–भ्रमस्थल में स्वरूपतः ज्ञात अधिष्ठान का धर्मविषयक ही अज्ञान रहता है; जैसे—इदं रूप में सामान्यतः ज्ञात शुक्तिरूप अधिष्ठान का शुक्तित्वधर्मविषयक अज्ञान रहता है। अतः उस अधिष्ठानभूतशुक्ति में रजत का आरोप हो सकता है। इसी प्रकार स्थाणु में जो पुरुष का संदेह होता है उसमें स्थाणुत्व अन्य स्थाणु में ज्ञात होने पर भी उस संशय के अधिष्ठानभूत स्थाणु में स्थाणुत्व अज्ञात रहता है; अतः उसमें पुरुषत्व का संशय होता है। अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के मत में ब्रह्म में स्वरूपातिरिक्त स्वप्रकाशत्व आदि किसी धर्म का रहना सम्भव नहीं है अन्य धर्म की स्थिति स्वीकार करने पर ब्रह्म को उनलोगों ने ब्रह्म को निर्विशेष स्वीकार किया है, वह निर्विशेषत्व ब्रह्म में नहीं रहेगा। अतः अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक जिसको माना है, उस "विशेषरूप में अज्ञातता" का ब्रह्म में रहना सम्भव न होने से ब्रह्म अध्यस्त, कल्पित विश्व का अधिष्ठान नहीं हो सकता है[2]।

यदि अद्वैतवेदान्ती को यह अभिमत है कि ब्रह्म में कतिपय कल्पित स्वप्रकाशत्व आदि सामान्य धर्म और पूर्णानन्दत्व आदि कतिपय विशेष धर्म है। इन कल्पित-धर्मों को ग्रहणकर ब्रह्म का अधिष्ठानत्व उपपन्न हो सकता है; अध्यस्त विश्व का अधिष्ठान ब्रह्म हो सकता है। कारण, ब्रह्म में कल्पित सामान्य-धर्म की ज्ञातता एवं कल्पित विशेष धर्म की अज्ञातता होने के कारण अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजकत्व वर्तमान है।

किन्तु अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं का यह कथन भी संगत नहीं है। कारण, अज्ञान-कल्पित-धर्म कभी भी अज्ञान का या तत्त्वज्ञान का विषय नहीं हो सकता है।

१–ननु स्वरूपेण ज्ञातत्वे सति विशेषेणाज्ञातत्वस्य अधिष्ठानत्वे प्रयोजकतया अज्ञातविशेषवत्त्वस्य तत्प्रयोजकत्वासम्भवात् पुरुषो नवेति संशयधर्मिणः स्थाणोरप्यन्यत्र ज्ञातस्थाणुत्वरूपविशेषवत्त्वात् तत्राज्ञातविशेषवत्त्वमप्रयोजकम् विशेषेण अज्ञातत्वस्यैव लाघवेन प्रयोजकत्वात्।

अ० गि० पृ० ८४-८५

२—अ० गि०, पृ० ८५।

यदि उनके मत में पूर्णानन्दत्व आदि विशेष धर्म ब्रह्म में अज्ञान कल्पित है, तब वही अज्ञान कल्पित धर्म पुनः अज्ञान का विषय कैसे हो सकता है ? अज्ञान कल्पित धर्म तत्त्वज्ञान का विषय नहीं होता है—यह तो सकलजन विदित है।

बाधकज्ञान का जो विषय होता है वही विशेष धर्म की अज्ञातता भ्रम में अधिष्ठानत्व की प्रयोजक होगी। जैसे—शुक्ति-रजत के दृष्टान्त में बाधकज्ञान का विषय जो शुक्तित्व उस शुक्तित्व की अज्ञातता ही भ्रम में अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक होती है। अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के द्वारा पूर्णानन्दत्व आदि विशेष धर्म को अज्ञानकल्पित मानने पर उक्त नियम ठीक नहीं हो सकता है। बाधकज्ञान का विषय और अज्ञान का विषय एकरूप नहीं हो सकता है। कारण, तात्त्विक पूर्णानन्दत्व आदि ही बाधक ज्ञान का विषय है—यह स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा। कल्पित पूर्णानन्दत्व आदि विशेष धर्म की अज्ञातता को अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक कहा है। अतः बाधकज्ञान का विषय और अज्ञान का एकरूप नहीं होने से अर्थात् तात्त्विक और कल्पित भेद से भिन्न होने से कल्पित विशेष-धर्म की अज्ञातता को अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक नहीं कह सकते हैं। इसलिए ब्रह्म अध्यस्त-प्रपञ्च का अधिष्ठान नहीं हो सकता है।

अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं ने जो स्वप्रकाशत्व आदि धर्म को ब्रह्म में आरोपित कहा है, उस स्वप्रकाशत्वादि धर्म का आरोप के प्रति कौन साधन होगा ? इस स्वप्रकाशत्व आदि धर्म को ही अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक मानने पर आत्माश्रय दोष होगा। स्वप्रकाशत्व आदि धर्म के आरोप के प्रति उससे भिन्न अन्य कल्पित स्वप्रकाशत्व आदि धर्म को अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक मानने पर अनवस्था दोष होगा। कल्पित सामान्य धर्म की सिद्धि होने पर अधिष्ठानत्व की सिद्धि होगी और अधिष्ठानता की सिद्धि होने पर कल्पित सामान्य धर्म की सिद्धि होगी—इस प्रकार अन्योऽन्याश्रय दोष की प्रसक्ति होगी। ब्रह्म में कल्पित सामान्य धर्म को भी विशेष धर्मसमूह के प्रवाहरूप में अनादि स्वीकार कर पूर्वोक्त दोषों का परिहार भी अद्वैतवेदान्ती नहीं कर सकते हैं। कारण, ऐसा होने पर पूर्व-पूर्व अज्ञान के द्वारा कल्पित ब्रह्म दूसरे-दूसरे अज्ञान का विषय होने से ब्रह्म में भी कल्पितत्व और अनित्यत्व आदि दोष की प्रसक्ति होगी। आशय यह है कि अद्वैतवेदान्ती अज्ञानकल्पित वस्तु को अज्ञान का आश्रय और विषय नहीं मानते हैं। अकल्पित शुद्ध ब्रह्म ही अज्ञान का आश्रय और विषय होता है—यही इनलोगों का सिद्धांत है। भामतीकार के मत में अज्ञानकल्पित जीव अज्ञान का आश्रय होने पर भी अज्ञानकल्पित वस्तु अज्ञान का विषय होता है—यह वे भी स्वीकार नहीं करते हैं। किन्तु सूत्रकार ने जिस रूप में ब्रह्म का कल्पितत्व और अनित्यत्व दोषों को प्रदर्शित किया है—वह संगत नहीं है।

अप्रकाशत्व आदि ब्रह्म धर्म का आरोप स्वीकार करने पर उस आरोप का अधिष्ठान ब्रह्म को ही मानना पड़ेगा। अधिष्ठान का स्फुरण न मानने पर आरोप नहीं हो सकता है। अतः स्वप्रकाशत्व धर्म का आरोप स्वीकार करने पर उस आरोप के अधिष्ठान ब्रह्म का स्फुरण स्वीकार करना होगा। यह स्फुरण या प्रकाश दूसरे के द्वारा सम्भव नहीं हो सकता है; अतः स्वतःस्फुरण या स्वप्रकाश स्वीकार करना होगा। उस स्वतः प्रकाशत्व धर्म को कल्पित होने पर जिस प्रकार अनवस्था दोष होता है उसी प्रकार स्वप्रकाश ब्रह्म में भी कल्पितत्व दोष होगा। कारण, अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के मत में स्वप्रकाशत्वधर्मविशिष्ट ब्रह्म उपपन्न नहीं हो सकता है। स्वप्रकाशत्वरहित ब्रह्म अकल्पित होने पर वह ब्रह्म ही नहीं हो सकता है। क्योंकि, स्वप्रकाशत्वादिरहित घट-पट आदि पदार्थों के समान ब्रह्म भी जड़-पदार्थ सिद्ध होगा और जड़-पदार्थ को ब्रह्म नहीं कहा जा सकता है। सर्वात्मक ब्रह्म यदि जड़ या परतः प्रकाश रहेगा तब उसकी किसी भी तरह सिद्धि नहीं हो सकती है। असर्वात्मक जड़-पदार्थ की अन्य के द्वारा सिद्धि होने पर भी सर्वात्मक जड़-पदार्थ से अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं होने से किसके द्वारा इसकी सिद्धि होगी? विश्व के आरोप से पूर्व ब्रह्म से अतिरिक्त कौन पदार्थ है जो ब्रह्म का प्रकाशक होगा? जो पदार्थ ब्रह्म का प्रकाशक होगा, वही ब्रह्म होगा; प्रकाश्य ब्रह्म का अब्रह्मत्व ही हो जायेगा। इस प्रकार इस विवेचन से श्रीमाधवमुकुन्दाचार्य का अभिप्रेत यही है कि कल्पित और अनित्य ब्रह्म नहीं हो सकता है [1]।

यदि अद्वैतवेदान्ती का यह अभिप्राय है कि आनन्दत्वादिरूप में अज्ञात और स्वरूपतः ज्ञात ब्रह्म अध्यस्त-विश्व का अधिष्ठान होता है, यह स्वीकार करने पर किसी प्रकार की अनुपपत्ति नहीं है। परन्तु अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं का यह कथन भी युक्ति-युक्त नहीं है। कारण, उनके मत में ब्रह्म को निर्विशेष स्वीकार किया गया है, इसलिये पूर्णानन्दत्वादि धर्म को अज्ञान-कल्पित ही मानना होगा। अज्ञानकल्पित वस्तु मिथ्या होती है। मिथ्या वस्तु तत्त्वज्ञान का विषय नहीं हो सकती है और अज्ञानकल्पित वस्तु अज्ञान का भी विषय नहीं हो सकती है। अतः ब्रह्म अध्यस्त विश्व का अधिष्ठान है—यह कथन संगत नहीं है।

भ्रम के विरोधी ज्ञान का अभाव ही अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक है—यह अद्वैतवादी स्वीकार करते हैं—यह कथन भी समीचीन नहीं है। अधिष्ठानगत विशेष धर्म का

१. स्वप्रकाशत्वाद्यारोपं प्रति स्वप्रकाशत्वाद्यन्तरस्य प्रयोजकत्वे अनवस्थाप्रसङ्गाच्च। पूर्वपूर्वाज्ञान-कल्पितं ब्रह्म उत्तरोत्तरज्ञानाश्रयो विषयश्चेति ब्रह्मणोऽपि कल्पितत्वानित्यत्वादिप्रसङ्गाच्च।
अ० गि० पृ० ८७

ज्ञानाभाव अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक नहीं होता है। शुक्ति में रजत का ज्ञान होने पर "यह शुक्ति है" यह ज्ञान ही विरोधी होता है। भ्रम के समय में इस विरोधी ज्ञान का अभाव रहता है, अतः शुक्ति अध्यस्त रजत का अधिष्ठान होता है। इसी प्रकार ब्रह्म में जो संसार का भ्रम होता है, उसमें श्रवणादिजनित ब्रह्ममात्रविषयकवृत्तिरूप ज्ञान ही विरोधी होता है। इस भ्रम में प्रदर्शित-वृत्तिरूप-ज्ञान का अभाव है, अतः ब्रह्म अध्यस्त-जगत् का अधिष्ठान है। इसलिये भ्रम विरोधी ज्ञान के अभाव को अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक मानने पर किसी प्रकार के दोष की सम्भावना नहीं है। अद्वैत-वेदान्तिओं का वाक्य भी संगत नहीं है। कारण, जिसमें परिच्छेदक धर्म का दर्शन आदि रहता है—वैसा व्यावृत्ताकार ज्ञान ही विरोधी होता है। जैसे—शुक्ति में जो रजत का भ्रम होता है, उसमें "यह शुक्ति है" यह व्यावृत्ताकार ज्ञान ही विरोधी होता है। कारण, इस प्रकार के ज्ञान में शुक्तित्वरूप परिच्छेदक धर्म का दर्शन होता है। बाधक-ज्ञान का विषय शुक्तिरूप धर्म भ्रमकाल में अज्ञातभाव में शुक्ति में रहता है इसलिये शुक्ति में रजत का भ्रम होता है, अतः शुक्ति अध्यस्त रजत का अधिष्ठान है। अद्वैतवेदान्तिओं के मत में ब्रह्म निर्विशेष है, ब्रह्म में कोई धर्म नहीं है। फलतः उनके मत में भ्रमकाल में ब्रह्म में अज्ञात भाव में कोई धर्म नहीं है, जो बाधकज्ञान का विषय हो। इसलिये ब्रह्म में जगत् का भ्रम होता है—यह नहीं कह सकते हैं, अतः ब्रह्म अध्यस्त जगत् का अधिष्ठान नहीं हो सकता है और इसीलिये ब्रह्ममात्रविषयक वृत्तिरूप ज्ञान वृत्ताकार नहीं है एवं इस प्रकार के ज्ञान को भ्रम का विरोधी भी नहीं कहा जा सकता है। अवर्तमान विशेष धर्म के ज्ञानाभाव को भी अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक नहीं कह सकते हैं। कारण, भ्रमकाल में जैसा अवर्तमान विशेषधर्म का ज्ञानाभाव रहता है वैसा ही भ्रमकाल में भी अवर्तमान विशेषधर्म का ज्ञानाभाव रहता है, अतः उसको अधिष्ठानत्व का प्रयोजक नहीं कहा जा सकता है। इसलिये अद्वैतवेदान्ती जो ब्रह्म में जगत् अध्यस्तकल्पित कहते हैं, उसमें अधिष्ठान दुर्निरुपणीय होने से अधिष्ठान प्रयोज्य अध्यास सर्वथा असिद्ध ही है [1]।

---

१. नहि बाधकधीविषयो अज्ञातो धर्मो ब्रह्मणि भवन्ति, तत्रासद् विशेषज्ञानाभावस्य बाधकालेऽपि सत्त्वात्। तस्मादधिष्ठानस्य दुर्निरूप्यतया तत्प्रयोज्याध्यासस्य सर्वथासिद्धिरेव।

अ० गि० पृ० ८८

प्रकाशात्मयति के मत में अज्ञान की एकता

डॉ० श्रीवर्द्धन ठाकुर
व्याख्याता, संस्कृत-विभाग
चन्द्रधारी मिथिला महाविद्यालय, दरभंगा।

विवरणाचार्य ने अज्ञान के एकत्व का समर्थन किया है अर्थात् उनके मत में अज्ञान एक ही है। इस प्रकार अज्ञानवाद में ब्रह्मज्ञान से अतिरिक्त किसी अन्य ज्ञान से अज्ञान की निवृत्ति नहीं होती है एवं ज्ञान के एकत्व पक्ष में भ्रम का उपादानत्व ही अज्ञान का लक्षण है [1]।

इस प्रसंग में द्वैतवादी आचार्यों का कथन है कि अज्ञान का एकत्व स्वीकार करने पर, शुक्तिविषयक ज्ञान के द्वारा अज्ञान की निवृत्ति होने पर, उस शुक्ति विषय अज्ञान की निवृत्ति जिस पुरुष को हो गई उसको मोक्ष-लाभ होने लगेगा, क्योंकि अज्ञान तो एक ही है और वह शुक्ति के ज्ञान के द्वारा ही निवृत हो गया है [1]।

अद्वैत वेदान्तिओं के सिद्धान्त में अज्ञान की निवृत्ति को ही मोक्ष कहकर स्वीकार किया है [2]। अविद्या की निवृत्ति ही मोक्ष है एवं अविद्या ही बन्ध है [2]।

इसके उत्तर में अद्वैतवादिओं का कहना है कि—अज्ञान का एकत्व स्वीकार करने पर भी शुक्ति ज्ञान के द्वारा ही मोक्ष की आपत्ति नहीं कह सकते हैं। शुद्ध चैतन्य विषय का ज्ञान शुक्ति विषय अज्ञान के द्वारा निवृत्त नहीं होता है। क्योंकि समान विषय का ज्ञान ही अज्ञान का निवर्त्तक होता है। शुक्ति ज्ञान के द्वारा शुद्ध चैतन्य विषयक अज्ञान की निवृत्ति न होने पर भी शुक्ति ज्ञान से अज्ञान की अवस्था-विशेष का नाशक होता है। अद्वैतवेदान्त में मूलाज्ञान एवं तूलाज्ञान तथा मूलाज्ञान की अवस्था नाम से अज्ञान का प्रकार-भेद स्वीकार किया गया है। उसका संक्षिप्त परिचय यही है कि शुद्ध ब्रह्म की आवरक अविद्या ही मूलाज्ञान है। इस मूलाज्ञान में आवरण-शक्ति और विक्षेप-शक्ति है। आवरण और विक्षेप शक्तिद्वय प्रयुक्त ब्रह्म-ज्ञान से नाश्य अज्ञान ही मूलाज्ञान है। आवरण और विक्षेप शक्ति से युक्त ब्रह्मज्ञान

१. एकमेवाज्ञानमिति पक्षेतु तत्र भ्रमोपादानत्वमज्ञतमेव। (अद्वैत सिद्धि ४८६)
२. अविद्यास्तमयो मोक्षः साचबन्ध उदाहृतः (वृ० वा०)

से भिन्न ज्ञान से नाश्य एवं मूलाज्ञान के साथ तादात्मभाजानापन्न अज्ञान ही तूलाज्ञान है। मूलाज्ञान की अवस्थाविशेष कहने से आवरण विक्षेप शक्ति से ब्रह्मज्ञान से अन्य जो ज्ञान उससे नाश्य एवं मूलाज्ञान के साथ तादात्म्यापन्न अज्ञान समझना चाहिये [1]।

विवरणाचार्य ने इस विषय में विशेष विचार किया। शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान के द्वारा रजतादि अध्यास का अपने कारण में प्रविलयमात्र ही होता है। किन्तु रजताध्यास से उपादान अज्ञान की निवृत्ति नहीं होती है। एकाज्ञानवाद में ब्रह्मज्ञान से अन्य किसी ज्ञान से भी अज्ञान की निवृत्ति नहीं हो सकती है। जैसे मूसल के प्रहार से घट के उपादान का उच्छेद नहीं होता है। उसी प्रकार शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान के द्वारा भी उपादान का उच्छेद नहीं होता है [2]।

विवरणाचार्य ने इस प्रकार एकाज्ञानवाद का उत्पादन करके अथवा पक्ष अवलम्बन पूर्वक अनेक अवस्था अज्ञान स्वीकार किया है। इस अवस्था अज्ञान स्वीकार का अभिप्राय यही है कि ज्ञान के द्वारा अज्ञान की ही निवृत्ति होती है। अज्ञान के साथ ही ज्ञान का साक्षात् विरोध है। किन्तु अज्ञान कार्य के साथ ज्ञान का साक्षात् विरोध नहीं है। शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान के द्वारा रजतादि अध्यास के उपादान अज्ञान की निवृत्ति नहीं होती है, केवल रजतादि अध्यास का प्रविलय-मात्र होता है। इस प्रकार स्वीकार करने से प्रदर्शित अनुभव का अविरोध अपरिहार्य है। ब्रह्म-साक्षात्कार के द्वारा भी ब्रह्म-विषयक अज्ञान के कार्य प्रपंच की ही निवृत्ति होती है, किन्तु ब्रह्म-विषयक अज्ञान की निवृत्ति नहीं होगी। जैसे शुक्ति विषय ज्ञान के द्वारा रजतादि अध्यास की ही निवृत्ति होती है, किन्तु अज्ञान की निवृत्ति नहीं होती है—इसी प्रकार की आपत्ति होगी।

और भी दूसरी बात है कि—अद्वैतवादिगण के ब्रह्म-साक्षात्कार के द्वारा प्रपंचाध्यास के साथ अज्ञान की निवृत्ति होती है, यह स्वीकार किया है। वे सब कहते हैं कि—ज्ञान के द्वारा सविलास अज्ञान की निवृत्ति लोकदृष्ट है। सुतरां दृष्टानुसार ज्ञान, सविलास अज्ञान का निवर्तक होगा, दृष्ट द्वारा ब्रह्मज्ञान सविलास अज्ञान का निवर्तक होता है—यही अद्वैत सिद्धांत है। किन्तु शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान द्वारा यदि

१. एकाज्ञानपक्षे शुक्तिभेदस्य शुक्तिरूप्योद्यनुपादानत्वेपि शुक्त्वादि ज्ञानेतरुप्यादि निवृत्तियुंज्यते। (ल० च० पृ० ४८६)

२. एकाज्ञानपक्षे रुप्यादेः शुक्तिज्ञानेन स्वकारणे प्रविलयमात्रं क्रियते, मुग्दरप्रहारेणैव घटस्य न स्वज्ञानं निवर्त्यंत इति। (अ० सि० पृ० ४८६) अस्मिन् पक्षे शुक्तिकादिज्ञानेन रजताध्यासानां स्वकारणे प्रविलयमात्रं क्रियते मूसलप्रहारेणैवघटस्य। (वि० पृ० १०६)

अज्ञान की निवृत्ति नहीं होती है, केवल अध्यास की ही निवृत्ति होती है तब ब्रह्म-साक्षात्कार सविलास अज्ञान का निवर्तक होगा– यह दृष्ट द्वारा कैसे संभावित हुआ ? शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान द्वारा अध्यासमात्र की निवृत्ति ही तो अध्यास के साथ अज्ञान की निवृत्ति लोकदृष्ट है, तभी ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कार द्वारा सविलास अज्ञान की निवृत्ति लोकदृष्टि अनुसार में स्वीकार की जा सकती है। इसीलिए विवरणाचार्य प्रदर्शित एकाज्ञानवाद समर्थन के लिए मूलाज्ञान का अवस्था-भेद-रूप अज्ञान शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान निवर्तनीय कहकर स्वीकार किया है। शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान निवर्त्य मूलाज्ञान का अवस्थाभेद मूलाज्ञान से अत्यन्त भिन्न नहीं है। इस मूलाज्ञान की अवस्था ही रजतादि अध्यास का उपादान है। किन्तु मूलाज्ञान रजतादि अध्यास का उपादान नहीं है। शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान द्वारा रजतादि अध्यास का उपादान अवस्था अज्ञान के साथ रजतादि अध्यास की निवृत्ति होती है[1]।

इस प्रकार मूलाज्ञान को अवस्था स्वीकार कर कथंचित एकज्ञानवाद भी सुरक्षित होता है एवं शुक्तिकादि ज्ञान द्वारा अध्यास के साथ अज्ञान निवृत्ति भी समर्थित होती है। मूलाज्ञान के समान ही यह अवस्था अज्ञान भी आवरण विक्षेप शक्तियुक्त मूलाज्ञान शुद्ध चैतन्य का आवरक और अवस्था अज्ञान शुक्त्याद्यवच्छिन्न चैतन्य का आवरक है। मूलाज्ञान विक्षेप शक्ति के द्वारा रजतादि अध्यासता हेतु होकर रहता है अवस्था अज्ञान विक्षेप शक्ति द्वारा रजतादि अध्यास का हेतु होकर रहता है। मूलाज्ञान के समान यह अवस्था अज्ञान भी अनादि है। यह अवस्था अज्ञान में भी अनादि भावत्वेसति ज्ञाननिवर्त्यत्वरूप अज्ञान का लक्षण संगत होता है। अज्ञान मात्र ही अनादि है यही वेदान्त-सिद्धान्त है।

'विवरण के टीकाकार ऋजुविवरण में सर्वज्ञ विष्णुभट्ट ने कहा है—मूलाज्ञान के समान अवस्था अज्ञान भी अनादि है, इस तरह किसी-किसी आचार्य ने स्वीकार किया है। किन्तु यह ठीक नहीं है ; कारण, शुक्ति विषयक ज्ञान, शुक्ति विषयक अवस्था अज्ञान का निवर्तक होता है। शुक्ति विषयक ज्ञान जितनीबार होगा उतनीबार एक-एक ज्ञान शुक्ति विषयक अवस्था अज्ञान का निवर्तक होता है। एसलिए शुक्ति विषयक अवस्था अज्ञान भी ज्ञान प्रागभाव के समान ज्ञान का समसंख्यक है। इस अवस्था अज्ञान को अनादि मानने पर एक विषयक जितना अवस्था अज्ञान सम्भावित है, अज्ञान के समान विषयक एक ज्ञान के द्वारा ही उन सभी अवस्था अज्ञान की निवृत्ति होगी

१. अथवा मूलाज्ञानस्यैवावस्थाभेदा रजताद्युपादानानि शुक्तिकादिज्ञानैस्सहाध्यासेन निवर्त्तन्त इति कल्प्यताम्। (वि० पृ० १०६)

और उससे शुक्त्यादि विषय एकवार ज्ञात होने पर पुनः अज्ञात नहीं हो सकता है। इससे ज्ञात वस्तु का भी कालान्तर में अक्षमानुभव विरुद्ध हो जायेगा। संकृत् ज्ञात वस्तु में कालान्तर में भी अध्यास नहीं होगा। कारण, अध्यास का उपादान अवस्था अज्ञान तद्विषयक एकमात्र ज्ञान के द्वारा ही निवृत्त हो गया है[1]।

यदि यह कहा जाय कि अवस्था अज्ञान अनादि होने पर भी एक विषयक समस्त अवस्था अज्ञान विषयक युगपत् आवरक नहीं होता है एक समय में शोक अवस्था अज्ञान विषय को आवरण नहीं करता है। एक तो अज्ञान के द्वारा ही आवरण सिद्ध हो जाता है। इसलिए वहुत अज्ञान का एक साथ आवरण व्यर्थ है। सुतरां ज्ञान उत्पन्न होने पर विषयावरक एक ही अवस्था अज्ञान की निवृत्ति होगी अन्य, अवस्था अज्ञान की निवृत्ति नहीं होगी। प्रकाशक-ज्ञान आवरक-अज्ञान का ही निवर्त्तक होता है। किन्तु इस प्रकार का कथन भी नितान्त असंगत है। कारण, यह मानने पर निर्विषयक अज्ञान स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा। एक अवस्था अज्ञान ही विषय का आवरण करता है— इस प्रकार कहने से भी विषय का अनावरक अज्ञान स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा। अज्ञान जिसका आवरण करता है वही अज्ञान का विषय होता है। अज्ञान वर्त्तमान रहने पर भी विषय का आवरण ही करता है यह मानने पर निर्विषयक अज्ञान स्वीकार ही करना पड़ेगा और इस प्रकार निर्विषयक ज्ञान जैसे अप्रसिद्ध है वैसे ही निर्विषयक अज्ञान अप्रसिद्ध है। इसीलिए अवस्था अज्ञान को अनादि कहना ठीक नहीं है। एक ज्ञान के द्वारा एक अवस्था अज्ञान की निवृत्ति होने पर मूलाज्ञान होने पर उत्पन्न और एक अवस्था अज्ञान विषय को आवरण करके रहता है इसीलिए असंख्य अवस्था अज्ञान युगपत् वर्त्तमान नहीं रहता। यह सब विषय प्रतिपादन कर ऋजु विवरणकार ने इस प्रकार उपसंहार किया कि विस्तार भय से अधिक नहीं कहता हूँ[2]।

सिद्धान्त लेश के प्रथम परिच्छेद में अप्पय दीक्षित ने कहा है कि और भी अवस्था अज्ञान सादि है वह अन्य आचार्यों का मत है। अवस्था अज्ञान को सादि कहने वालों में ऋजुविवरणकार भी है। अवस्था अज्ञान के सादित्व पक्ष में अनादित्व घटित्व अविद्या का लक्षण संगत नहीं होगा। अतः अवस्था अज्ञान को सादित्व स्वीकार करने पर अज्ञान का द्वितीय लक्षण अथवा तृतीय लक्षण स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा। अद्वैतसिद्धि का द्वितीय और तृतीय लक्षण सादि और अनादि उभय अज्ञान साधारण है। अज्ञान का अनादित्व

१ केचित्—अज्ञानवदवस्थानामनादित्वम्—आहुः, तदसत् तथा सत्येकेन तत्त्वज्ञानेन सर्वावस्थाज्ञान निवृत्तिः स्यात्, एक विषयत्वात्। (ऋ० वि० पृ० ११०)

२ ऋ० वि० पृ० ११०

अनुभव सिद्ध होने पर भी अनेक प्रकार की व्यावहारिक प्रक्रिया उपपादन करने के लिये कतिपय आचार्यों ने अवस्था अज्ञान को सादि भी स्वीकार किया है। विवरण की टीका भावप्रकाशिका में नृसिंहाश्रम ने अवस्था अज्ञान का सादित्व खण्डन कर अनादित्व समर्थन किया है। अज्ञानमात्र ही अनादि है। अनादि न रहने पर अज्ञान ही नहीं हो सकता। क्योंकि अज्ञान का अनादित्व घटित लक्षण उपयुक्त है। यद्यपि ज्ञान निवर्त्यत्व रूप अज्ञान का द्वितीय लक्षण सादि अज्ञान में भी सम्भावित है। तथापि मूलाज्ञान के कार्यमात्र ही केवल ब्रह्म ज्ञान निवर्त्य होता है। जैसे आकाशादि प्रपञ्च मूलाज्ञान का कार्य होकर ब्रह्मज्ञान भाव निवर्त्य है। मूलाज्ञान के अनिवर्तक ज्ञान के द्वारा मूलाअज्ञान का कार्य निवर्त्य नहीं हो सकता। अवस्था अज्ञान भी मूलाज्ञान का कार्य होने पर भी घटादि विषयक ज्ञान द्वारा निवर्त्य नहीं होता है और वहाँ पर अवस्था अज्ञान की कल्पना सर्वथा व्यर्थ है। इस सम्बन्ध में और भी विस्तृत आलोचना भाव-प्रकाशिका में की गई है।

जो मूलाज्ञान की अवस्थाविशेष स्वीकार नहीं करते हैं उनके मत में यह प्रदर्शित करने पर अर्थात् शुक्तिज्ञान मूलाज्ञान को अवस्थाविशेष का नाशक होता है यह कथन संगत नहीं है। इसलिये अद्वैत सिद्धिकार ने कहा—इस विषय पर मैंने सिद्धान्त-विन्दु में विस्तृत रूप से आलोचना की है। सिद्धान्त-विन्दु में जो कहा गया है उसका अभिप्राय यही है कि शुक्ति का प्रभा विरह विशिष्ट मूलाज्ञान ही है। शुक्तिर्न भाति इत्यादि व्यवहार का नियामक होता है। शुक्तिप्रभा उत्पन्न होने पर मूलाज्ञान रहने पर भी शुक्तिर्न भाति इस प्रकार के व्यवहार का जनक नहीं होता है। सुतरां शुक्तिप्रभा न भाति इत्यादि व्यवहार की निवर्तक होती है। किन्तु मूलाज्ञान की निवर्तक नहीं होती है। इससे शुक्ति ज्ञान के द्वारा मोक्ष की आपत्ति भी नहीं होती है।

भारतीय आर्यधर्म में दानकाल की विवेचना

डा० बी० एन० झा 'विनीत'
एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, साहित्यशास्त्री
मिथिला शोध संस्थान, दरभंगा

देवल का नाम उद्धृत करते हुए हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्र (पृ० ८४३) में महा-महोपाध्याय डा० पी० वी० काणे ने दान के छः अंगों की चर्चा की है जिनमें दाता, प्रतिग्रहीता, श्रद्धा, न्यायार्जित धन, देश और काल के नाम बताये गये हैं। यहाँ काल का अर्थ है 'वह विशिष्ट समय जब दाता अपने दान-कार्य को प्रतिपादित करता है।' दान का यह अन्तिम अंग अतिशय महत्त्वपूर्ण होता है, क्योंकि पुण्यकाल में किये गये दानकार्य से ही दाता धर्मग्रन्थ-प्रति-पादित दानफल की प्राप्ति कर सकता है। अतएव धर्मशास्त्र, पुराणेतिहास एवं ज्योतिष ग्रन्थों में इसकी बहुशः विवेचना की गई है।

इस प्रसंग में हमारे आचार्यों ने मास, तिथि, संक्रान्ति, ग्रहण, व्यतीपात, वैधृत प्रभृति महत्त्वपूर्ण कालों की चर्चा की है, साथ ही इनकी अंग-विशेष की भी विवेचना उन्होंने कर दी है जो पुण्यकाल के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। यही वह पुण्यकाल है जब दाता अपने दानकर्म का संकल्प लेता है। दानकार्य का प्रारम्भ दाता स्नानादि-कार्य से निवृत्त होकर सूर्योदय के बाद ही कर सकता है[1]। कोई भी दान चाहे वह देवनिमित्तक हो या पितृनिमित्तक अथवा मनुष्य-निमित्तक, शास्त्रनिर्दिष्ट समयानुसार ही प्रारम्भ किया जायगा। दक्ष ने तो अपनी स्मृति (अ० २ श्लो० २३) में दिन के तीन भाग—पूर्वाह्न, मध्याह्न और अपराह्न की चर्चा करते हुये बताया है कि कोई भी दान यदि देवनिमित्तक होगा तो दिन के पूर्वाह्न में शुरू किया जायगा। मनुष्यनिमित्तक एवं पितृनिमित्तक दान का प्रारम्भ क्रमशः मध्याह्न और अपराह्न में ही हो सकता है। कोई भी श्रद्धावान दाता अपने दान-कार्य को शुभ समय में ही सम्पादित करना चाहता है। हमारे मनीषियों ने इस प्रसंग में हर मास की तिथियों का नाम निर्दिष्ट कर दिया है जब दान-कार्य किया जा सकता है। स्कन्दपुराण (नागर खं० श्लो० ८१) में आश्विन मास के दोनों पक्षों की द्वितीया तथा वैशाख शुक्ल पक्ष की तृतीया तिथि को पुण्यदायिका कहा गया है जो

---

१ सूर्योदय विना नैव स्नान दानादिका क्रिया। अग्नेविहिरणञ्चैव कृत्वभानश्च लक्ष्यते॥
(मार्कण्डेय पृ० अ० २६ श्लो० ३७)

दानकार्य के लिये विशिष्ट हैं। चतुर्थी तिथि के शिवा, शान्ता और सुखा के नाम से तीन भेद किये गये हैं। इनमें पहली भाद्र शुक्लपक्षीय चतुर्थी है जो शिवा के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। माघ मास के शुक्ल पक्ष की चतुर्थी का नाम शान्ता है। सुखा वह चतुर्थी है जो किसी भी मास में मंगल के दिन पड़ जाय। व्यास ने दानकार्य के लिये इन तीनों चतुर्थी की बहुशः प्रसंशा भविष्यपुराण (अ० ३१) में की है। इन दिनों में किया गया दान को उन्होंने अतिशय विशिष्ट बताया है। इसके बाद नागपंचमी का नाम आता है। नागपंचमी अग्रहायण और श्रावण मास की शुक्लपक्ष की पंचमी है। इसीतरह भादो की षष्ठी तिथि भी महत्त्वपूर्ण है, जिसका निर्देश भविष्यपुराण (अ० ४६ श्लो० १) में कर दिया गया है। यहाँ तो उक्त तिथि में किया गया दान को अक्षय बताया गया है। दान-कार्य में सप्तमी तिथि का भी विशेष महत्व है। पुराण में तीन तरह की सप्तमी की चर्चा आई है— विजया, जया और नन्दा। रविवार-युक्ता शुक्लपक्षीया सप्तमी विजया नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। इसी तरह पंचतारक अर्थात् रोहिणी अश्लेषा और हस्तानक्षत्र में पड़ने वाली शुक्लपक्षीया सप्तमी जया-सप्तमी कहलाती है। अन्तिम नन्दा-सप्तमी मार्ग शुक्लपक्षीया सप्तमी है। भविष्यपुराण (अ० ८१, ९६, १००) में इन तीनों सप्तमी की बहुत बृहत् चर्चा की गई है। यहां बताया गया है कि दानकार्य के लिये ये उपर्युक्त सप्तमी तिथियाँ अतिशय विशिष्ट हैं। व्यास ने इसके अतिरिक्त एक और सप्तमी की चर्चा आदिपुराण में की है। यहाँ उन्होंने बताया है कि रविवारान्विता सप्तमी यदि रेवती नक्षत्र से युक्त हो जाय तो यह पावन-समय दानकार्य के लिये बड़ा ही विशेष फलदायक होता है। इसके बाद अष्टमी तिथि का नाम आता है, जो पितृकार्य के लिये विशेपरूप से प्रसंशनीय है। भविष्यपुराण (उत्तरपर्व अ० ५४ श्लोक ४३-४४) में महारुद्रा अष्टमी का नाम आया है। पौष शुदि अष्टमी को यदि बुध दिन का योग हो जाय तो वह महारुद्रा अष्टमी कहलाती है। यह दानादि कार्य के लिये महापुण्या मानी गई है। अग्रहायण, पौष, माघ और फाल्गुन महीना की कृष्णपक्षीया अष्टमी को आश्वलायन (गृह्यसूत्र अ० २ सं० ४ सू० १) ने अष्टका बताया है। यद्यपि शतपथ ब्राह्मण में "द्वादश-पौर्णमास्यो द्वादशाष्टका द्वादशामावास्या" (का० १ अ० ६) का निर्देश करते हुए ग्रन्थकर्त्ता ने बारह अष्टका का संकेत किया है जिसके अनुसार प्रत्येक महीने की कृष्ण-पक्षीया अष्टमी अष्टका कही जा सकती है; परन्तु, व्यवहारतः पूर्वोक्त अष्टका ही प्रसिद्ध है। ये अष्टकाएँ देवकार्य खासकर पितृकार्य श्राद्धादि के लिये तो अतिशय महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। अष्टका शब्द का तो अर्थ ही है—अश्नन्ति पितरो अस्यामिति अष्टका।

इसके बाद महानवमी का नाम आता है जो आश्विन के शुक्लपक्ष में पड़ती है। गरुड़-पुराण (पूर्वखण्ड अ० १३८ श्लो० ३) में ज्येष्ठ शुक्ल दशमी को सम्वत्सरमुखी नाम दिया गया है। सम्वत्सरमुखी-दशमी के अवसर पर किया गया दान दशविधपापनाशक होता है। इसी तरह एकादशी और द्वादशी तिथि भी दानकार्य के लिये महत्त्वपूर्ण मानी गई हैं। एकादशी तो पुण्यनक्षत्र-युक्त रहने पर हर महीने में एक विशेष महत्त्व रखती है। द्वादशी के विषय में गरुड़पुराण (अ० १३६ श्लो० ९) का निर्देश है कि भाद्रशुक्लपक्षीया द्वादशी यदि श्रवणा नक्षत्र-युक्त हो तो वह महाफला-द्वादशी कहलाती है। उक्त तिथि को किया गया दान लक्षगुण अधिक फल देने वाली होती है। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण (तृतीयखण्ड अ० ३१९) में तो साल भर की द्वादशी तिथि को विशिष्ट नक्षत्रयुक्त रहने पर दानादि के लिये महत्त्वपूर्ण बताया गया है। इसके अनुसार चैत से लेकर फाल्गुन महीने तक की शुक्लपक्षीया द्वादशी तिथि को यदि क्रमशः पूर्वफल्गुनी, हस्ता, स्वाती, ज्येष्ठा, मूल, श्रवणा, पूर्वाभाद्र, रेवती, कृतिका, मृगशिरा, पुनर्वसू और पुष्य नक्षत्र का योग हो जाय तो ये दानादि-कार्य के लिए अक्षय फल देने वाली होती हैं। इसी तरह त्रयोदशी, चतुर्दशी और पूर्णिमा भी विशेष मास के योग से महाफला होती हैं। इनमें चैत्र कृष्णपक्षीया त्रयोदशी तिथि को यदि मघा नक्षत्र में चन्द्रमा हो या उक्त तिथि को ही हस्त नक्षत्र में सूर्य हो तो गजच्छाया-योग कहलाता है, जो दानादि-कार्य के लिये अतिशय प्रसिद्ध है। श्राद्ध के समय में इस तरह का योग बड़े पुण्य से प्राप्त होता है। चैत्र-श्रावण और भादो महीने के शुक्ल-पक्ष की तथा माघ महीने के कृष्णपक्ष की चतुर्दशी तिथि अति विशिष्ट होती है। दान-कार्य के लिये ये तिथियाँ भी महत्त्वपूर्ण मानी गई हैं। भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मपर्व अ० ९६ श्लो० १७–१८) में वैशाख, कार्त्तिक और माघ मास की पूर्णिमा को महाफला नाम दिया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त अपने-अपने नक्षत्र से युक्त पूर्णिमा भी दानादि कार्य के लिये प्रशस्त मानी गई है। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (तृतीयखण्ड श्लो० ३९-४०) में महापूर्णिमा की चर्चा की गई है। वहीं बताया गया है कि अपने मास के नक्षत्र से युक्त पूर्णिमा को यदि वृहस्पति दिन पड़ जाय तो वह पूर्णिमा महापूर्णिमा कहलाती है। इस दिन में किया गया दान अक्षय होता है। कृतिका एवं रोहिणी नक्षत्र से युक्त कार्त्तिकी पूर्णिमा तथा भरणी नक्षत्र से युक्त कोई भी पूर्णिमा तिथि महापुण्य बताई गयी है। व्याससंहिता (अ० ३ श्लो० २४–२५) में इसकी बड़ी प्रसंशा की गई है। अमावास्या-तिथि भी दान-कार्य के लिये प्रशस्त है। व्याससंहिता (अ० ४ श्लो० २७) तथा शंखसंहिता (अ० १४ श्लो० ६) में सोमावती अमावास्या को क्रमशः

सङ्क्रान्ति तथा ग्रहण के समान पावन बताया गया है। महाभारत में तो सोमावती अमावास्या को पुष्कर दिन कहा गया है, जो सैकड़ों सूर्यग्रहण से अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण होता है। सोमावती अमावास्या की प्रसंशा भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मपर्व अ० ३१ श्लो० २२-२३) में भी की गई है। पुराणग्रन्थों में तो विशाखा, पुष्य, आर्द्रा और पुनर्वसू नक्षत्र के योग में अमावास्या तिथि को पितृकार्य के लिये उत्तम माना गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त धनिष्ठा, पूर्वभाद्र, शतभिषा और पूर्वाषाढ़ नक्षत्र में भी अमा का योग पैतृक-कर्म के लिये प्रशस्त है। माघी अमावास्या भी यदि शतभिषा नक्षत्र से युक्त हो जाय तो पितृकर्म के लिये महत्त्वपूर्ण माना गया है।

युगादि युगान्त तथा मन्वन्तर काल।

साल भर की कुछ तिथियों का निर्देश धर्मशास्त्र ग्रन्थों में किया गया है जिनसे सत्य, त्रेता, द्वापर और कलियुग का प्रादुर्भाव माना गया है। तदनुसार कार्त्तिक-शुक्ल नवमी वैशाख-शुक्ल तृतीया, माघी अमावास्या तथा भाद्र-कृष्ण-त्रयोदशी में क्रमशः सत्ययुग, त्रेतायुग, द्वापरयुग तथा कलियुग का प्रारम्भ माना गया है। ये तिथियाँ युगादि कही जाती हैं। भविष्यपुराण (उत्तरपर्व अ० १०१ श्लोक ४-६) में इस युगादि के अवसर पर किया गया दान को अक्षय बताया गया है। इन तिथियों की महत्ता का ब्रह्मपुराण के कतिपय स्थलों पर विस्तृतरूपसे वर्णन किया गया है। उपर्युक्त युगों का जैसे निर्धारित तिथि में जन्म होता है वैसे ही साल के अन्दर निर्धारित संक्रान्ति में अन्त भी हो जाता है। सत्ययुग का अन्त सिंहराशि में सूर्य के संक्रमण के समय अर्थात् भादो की संक्रान्ति, और त्रेता का अन्त अग्रहण की संक्रान्ति जो वृश्चिक संक्रान्ति के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है, को होता है। इसी तरह वृष और कुम्भ की संक्रान्ति जो क्रमशः ज्येष्ठ और फाल्गुन महीने में होती है, द्वापर और कलियुग का अन्तिम दिन होता है। ये युगान्तकाल भी युगादिकाल की तरह दान-कार्य के लिये अतिशय पवित्र माने गये हैं। पुराण-ग्रन्थों में तो उपर्युक्त युगान्त से अतिरिक्त कुछ और युगान्तकाल निर्दिष्ट कर दिये गये हैं। उनमें प्रथम है, रेवती नक्षत्र में जब सूर्य राश्यन्तर में गमन करता है। द्वितीय है, सूर्यग्रहण एवं चन्द्रग्रहण के समय में तथा याम्यायन से अतिरिक्त अर्थात् सौम्यायन की संक्रान्ति के दिन यदि सप्तमी तिथि पड़ जाय तब। पूर्वोक्त युगान्त की तरह ही ये युगान्त-वेला भी दानादि-कार्य के लिये प्रशस्त है। युगादि और युगान्तकाल के समान ही मन्वन्तरकाल भी दान-कार्य के लिये उत्तम माना गया है। मत्स्यपुराण (अ० १४४ श्लो० ६७-७१) में मन्वन्तरकाल का निर्देश कर दिया गया है। तदनुसार आश्विन शुक्ल नवमी, कार्त्तिक शुक्ल द्वादशी एवं पूर्णिमा, चैत्र शुक्ल तृतीया तथा पूर्णिमा, भाद्र शुक्ल तृतीया, फाल्गुन कृष्ण अमावास्या एवं पूर्णिमा, पौष शुक्ल एकादशी, श्रावण-

कृष्ण अष्टमी, आषाढ़-शुक्ल द्वादशी एवं पूर्णिमा, माघ शुक्ल सप्तमी तथा ज्येष्ठ मास की पूर्णिमा तिथि मन्वन्तरकाल हैं। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (तृ० खं० अ० ३२० श्लो० ११-१३) में श्रावणी अमावास्या तथा भाद्र-कृष्ण अष्टमी को भी मन्वन्तरकाल मान लिया गया है। ये मन्वन्तरकाल स्नान, दान, जप, होम, स्वाध्याय, पितृतर्पण आदि धार्मिक कार्यों के लिये परमपावन होते हैं।

व्यतीपात काल

याज्ञवल्क्य ने तो व्यतीपातकाल का महत्त्व बताते हुए कहा है—

शतमिन्दुक्षये दान सहस्रं तु दिनक्षये।
विषुवे शतसाहस्रं व्यतीपाते त्वनन्तकम्॥

(याज्ञ० स्मृ० से उद्धृत हेमाद्रिदान खं० पृ० ६९)

पुराण-ग्रन्थों में तो अन्य सभी कालों को दबाते हुए व्यतीपातकाल को सूर्यग्रहण से भी असंख्य गुण अधिक फल देने वाला बताया गया है।

दान के फल की महत्ता को ध्यान में रखते हुए इस काल को चार भागों में बाँट दिया गया है। उनके नाम हैं—उत्पत्ति, भ्रमण, पतन और क्षय। पूरे दिन में साठ दण्ड होते हैं, उसमे प्रथम बाइस दण्ड को उत्पत्तिकाल, तदन्तनर इक्कीस दण्ड को भ्रमणकाल, उसके बाद दस दण्ड को पतनकाल और अवशिष्ट सात दण्ड को क्षय काल माना गया है। दान का महत्त्व इन चारों समय में उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ता जाता है। अथात् उत्पत्ति, भ्रमण, पतन और क्षय में सबसे अधिक महत्त्व क्षयकाल का हीं है।

ज्योतिष शास्त्र में इस काल की चर्चा विशद् रूप में की गई है। प्रसंगवश यहाँ उसका कुछ उल्लेख कर लेना उपयुक्त ही होगा। वहाँ सप्तदश योग के नाम आये हैं। जिसमें व्यतीपात विष्कम्भादि का चर्चा की गई है जब अश्विनी, धनिष्ठा, श्रवणा, आर्द्रा अथवा अश्लेषा नक्षत्र का प्रथम चरण रविवारान्विता अमावास्यामें पड़ जाय तब वह दिन व्यतीपात कहलायेगा। अथवा वृहस्पति औरमंगल यदि सिंह राशि में हो, सूर्य यदि मेष राशि में रहे, तिथि यदि शुक्लपक्षीय द्वादशी हो और ऐसे समय हस्त नक्षत्र भी आ जाय तो यह योग व्यतीपात कहलायगा। ज्योतिषशास्त्र में व्यतीपात और वैधृति योगों में अन्तर दर्शाते हुए बताया गया है कि यद्यपि दोनों सूर्य और चन्द्र का क्रान्तिसाम्य होने पर ही घटित होता है फिर भी व्यतीपात में सूर्य क्रान्ति साम्य होता है जबकि वैधृति में चन्द्रकान्ति साम्य। गण्ड के उत्तरार्द्ध से साढ़े सात योग आगे तक

व्यतीपातयोग की सम्भावना रहती है, जबकि वैधृति योग की संभावना शुक्र योग से लेकर साढ़े तीन आगे के योग तक में रहती है।

उपराग काल

पद्मपुराण में ग्रहण-काल को उपराग-काल कहा गया है। यह चाहे सूर्यग्रहण का समय हो या चन्द्रग्रहण का, उपराग कहलायेगा[1]।

यह समय दानादिकार्य के लिये महत्त्वपूर्ण है। इनमें भी चन्द्रोपराग से सूर्योपराग का ज्यादा महत्त्व है। ऐसे समय में गंगा-तट पर किया गया दान और अधिक महत्त्व रखता है। ऐसे पावन काल में कभी-कभी चूड़ामणि योग भी हो जाता है, जब रविवार को सूर्यग्रहण और सोमवार को चन्द्रग्रहण हो जाता है। पद्मपुराण (भूमि खं. अ: ३९ श्लो० १७) में चूड़ामणि योग का वैशिष्ट्य बताया गया है। इस समय किया गया सभी दान सुवर्ण-दान के समान और नदी-कूप-तडाग सभी गंगा के समान पवित्र हो जाते हैं।

संक्रान्ति काल

साल भर में बारह संक्रान्तियाँ होती हैं---दो अयन, दो विषुव, चार षड़शीति और चार विष्णुपदी। इनमें अयन जो उत्तरायण और दक्षिणायन के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है, क्रमशः मकर और कर्क संक्रान्ति से जाना जाता है। मकर संक्रान्ति माघ में और कर्क संक्रान्ति श्रावण में होती है। विषुव संक्रान्ति भी दो तरह की होती है जो तुला और मेष में होती है। तुला से तात्पर्य है कार्तिकी संक्रान्ति और मेष से वैशाखी। कन्या, मिथुन, मीन, धनु राशि में जब सूर्य संक्रमण होता है तब षड़शीति नामक सक्रान्ति होती है। ये संक्रान्ति क्रमशः आश्विन, आषाढ़, चैत्र और पौष महीना में होती हैं। अन्तिम विष्णुपदी संक्रान्ति वृष, वृश्चिक, कुम्भ और सिंह राशि की संक्रान्ति हैं जो क्रमशः ज्येष्ठ, अग्रहण, फाल्गुण और भादो में घटित होती हैं। इनमें सभी संक्रान्तियों के अवसर पर दानादि-कार्य समान रूप से नहीं होता है। केवल मकर और मेष की संक्रान्ति का महत्त्व हमलोगों के यहाँ अत्यधिक है। संक्रान्ति का दिन पावन अवश्य होता है फिर भी दानादि शुभ-कार्य करने के लिये हमारे मनीषियों ने उसमें पुण्यकाल की विवेचना की है। इस प्रसंग में उन्होंने संक्रमण समय को तीन भागों में बाँट दिया है---पूर्वभाग, मध्यभाग और अन्तभाग। विषुव संक्रान्ति का पुण्यकाल मध्यभाग में होता है जब कि विष्णुपदी और दक्षिणायन की संक्रान्ति का आदि में। षड़शीति संक्रान्ति का भी

१. चन्द्रस्य यदि वा··· ··· ···स्मृतम् ॥ पद्मपु० भूमिखं० अ० ३९ श्लो० ३५

पुण्यकाल आदि में ही होता है। मात्र उत्तरायण की संक्रान्ति का पुण्यकाल अन्त में होता है। इन पुण्यकालों की विवेचना और भी सूक्ष्म ढंग से करते हुए हमारे पूर्वजों ने कतिपय संक्रान्ति के पुण्यकाल का बारह दिन पूर्व से भी होना बताया है। यह पुण्यकाल मात्र सूर्य संक्रमण काल में ही होता है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। सभी ग्रह एवं नक्षत्रों के एक राशि से अपर राशि में संक्रमण पर पुण्यकाल हो सकता है। सूर्य यदि एक राशि से अपर राशि में या एक नक्षत्र से अपर नक्षत्र में गमन करे तो उस गमन काल से सोलह दण्ड पूर्व और सोलह दण्ड पश्चात् तक पुण्यकाल माना जाता है। इसी तरह चन्द्रमा के भी राश्यन्तर तथा नक्षत्रान्तर में गमन करने पर एक दण्ड तेरह पल पूर्व और पश्चात् पुण्यकाल होता है। ऐसे ही मंगल का चार दण्ड एक पल तथा बुध का तीन दण्ड चौदह पल पुण्यकाल होता है। बृहस्पति, शुक्र और शनि का क्रमशः साढ़े सात दण्ड सात पल, चार दण्ड एक पल और विरासी दण्ड सात पल पुण्यकाल माना जाता है।

प्रकीर्ण काल

इस प्रसंग में हमें दिनक्षय, दिनच्छिद्र, अवम आदि महत्त्वपूर्ण दानकाल की चर्चा करनी है।

पद्मपुराण (भूमि खं० अ० ३९ श्लोक १५) का निर्देश है कि जिस दिन दो तिथियों का अन्त हो वह दिनक्षय कहलाता है; परन्तु, वशिष्ठसंहिता (अ० ३ श्लो० ११) के अनुसार सावन महीना के एक दिन में यदि तीन तिथियों का क्षय हो तो वह दिनक्षय कहलायेगा। यहाँ सावन का विशेष अर्थ से तात्पर्य है। सोमयाग में तीन प्रकार के सवन अहोरात्र अनुष्ठान करने से सम्पन्न होता है। उक्त याग में जिस दिन यह सवनकर्म सम्पन्न होता है उस दिन का नाम सावन है। मलमासतत्त्व में भी सावन से दिन-विशेष को ही लिया है।

दिनच्छिद्र के विषय में भार्गव का कहना है कि तिथि का आधा, करण, करण-तिथियोग नक्षत्र का अन्त और आदि में जो पर्वकाल होता है वह दिनच्छिद्र कहा जाता है। इसमें छेदकाल का जो मान होता है वही पुण्यकाल होता है। भृगुसंहिता में इसकी विवेचना करते हुए बताया गया है कि तिथि और करण के दो दण्ड अड़तीस पल आदि और अन्त नक्षत्र के दो दण्ड पचीस पल तथा योग के दो दण्ड सोलह पल छेदकाल होता है जो पुण्यकाल कहा जाता है।

जिस दिन तीन तिथियों का संगम होता है उसे अवम कहा जाता है। अवम और दिनक्षय में बहुत कम अन्तर होता है। जब दो तिथियों की समाप्ति में दिन की भी समाप्ति हो तो दिनक्षय होता है परन्तु अवम में दो तिथियों के अवसान होने पर भी दिन की भी पुनरावृत्ति हो जाती है।

इसके अतिरिक्त तिथिवृद्धि, तिथिक्षय, मन्वादि प्रभृति कतिपय महत्त्वपूर्ण काल हैं जो दानादि कार्य के लिये प्रशस्त हैं।

निषिद्ध काल

यद्यपि धर्मशास्त्र-ग्रन्थों में मुख्यतया विहित काल की ही चर्चा की गई है फिर भी निषिद्ध काल का भी निर्देश यदाकदा कर दिया गया है। निषिद्धकाल में दानादि कार्य करना अनुचित है। वृहत् पराशर संहिता (अ० ८ श्लोक० ७४) में बताया गया है कि रात में दान-कार्य नहीं करना चाहिये, क्योंकि ऐसे दान को राक्षस ग्रहण कर लेते हैं। परन्तु यह निषेध सामान्येन है, विशेषरूप में चन्द्रग्रहण के अवअर पर किया गया दान तो रात में ही करना पड़ता है। अधिकतर कन्यादान तो रातमें ही होते हैं। स्कन्दपुराण (अवन्ती खं० अ० ७२ श्लो० ११-१२) में बताया गया है कि महागुरु (माँ, बाप और आचार्य) के निधन हो जाने पर महादान, स्वाध्याय, तर्पण आदि धार्मिक कार्य नहीं करना चाहिये। इसी तरह मलमास, दक्षिणायन काल शुक्र के बाल, वृद्ध और अस्त की अवस्था आदि दानादि कार्य के लिये वर्जित माने गये हैं।

परन्तु, उपर्युक्त निषिद्ध काल सामान्येन है विशेष अवसर आ जाने से वह निषिद्ध नहीं माना जाता है। हेमाद्रि दान खण्ड (पृ० ८१) में देवल के वचन को उद्धृत करते हुए बताया गया है कि नैमित्तिक दान जो ग्रहण, विवाह, संक्रान्ति, यात्रा, प्रसव आदि के अवसर पर किया जाता है, रात में भी हो सकता है। अतिथि, पान्थ तथा गाय की पूजा रात में भी हो सकती है और ऐसे अवसर पर भोजनाच्छादन का दान भी किया जा सकता है। इसमें विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण (तृ० खं० अ० ३०१ श्लोक ४) तथा वृहत् पराशर संहिता (अ० ८२ श्लो० ७५) दोनों एकमत हैं। रात में किये गये दान के विषय में विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण (तृ० खं० अ० ३०१ श्लोक ३) का विशेष निर्देश यह है कि दानकार्य के बाद अभय दक्षिणा कर लेनी चाहिये अन्यथा वह दान निरर्थक होगा। काम्य और नैमित्तिक दान बड़े प्रबल होते हैं। मार्कण्डेय पुराण (अ० ३० श्लो० २४) का तो स्पष्ट निर्देश है कि ऐसे दान रात को कौन कहे महानिशा

के समय भी हो सकता है। भय खाये हुए व्यक्ति को आश्रय देने में समय क्या, पात्र का भी विचार नहीं किया जा सकता है। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण (तृ० खं० अ० ३०१ श्लो० ५-७) में इसका निर्देश दे दिया गया है। इसी तरह प्यासे को जल, भूखे को भोजन देने में पुण्यकाल का बहाना नहीं किया जा सकता है। आधी व्याई हुई गाय का द्विमुखी गाय के नाम से शास्त्रों में उल्लेख हुआ है। ऐसी गाय को दान देने में काल की अपेक्षा नहीं होती है। वह तो यदा-कदा द्विमुखी हो सकती है। मृत्युशय्या पर पड़े हुए व्यक्ति के लिये अपना मृत्युकाल ही पुण्यकाल हो जाता है। वह उस समय मनोवाञ्छित दान कर सकता है।

History of the foundation of the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara

The ancient University of Nalanda was the greatest University of Asia in the heyday of its glory and it has left for us a glorious cultural heritage, for which we can feel legitimate pride.

As we gather from the more or less authentic sources at our disposal it had a splendid carreer in the past when it functioned as a fullfledged centre of learning and advanced research in the different disciplines cultivated by the savants of those days. It played a vital and effective role in the dissemination of Indian culture in general and Buddhist culture in particular in the major countries of Asia.

Foreign scholars came from far off Buddhist countries encountering colossal difficulties on the way and sometimes at grave risk to their lives to study in the greatest Buddhist University situated in the land of the Buddha. Here they had the privilege of sitting at the feet of the renowned acaryas of the Nalanda Mahavihara for studying the systems of Buddhist Logic, Philosophy and Religion. Hiuen Tsang the celebrated Chinese scholar and a staunch exponent of the Yogacara School was the most distinguished pilgrim to come to India and to study under Silabhadra, the then Principal of Nalanda Undoubtedly he is one of those students of ancient Nalanda about whom we have authentic an reliable records.

It is from the records of his itinerary that the ancient sites and places of historical importance both in India and in the countries lying between India and China have been discovered by the labours of European explorers. The discovery of Nalanda by General Cunnigham – the father of Indian Archaeology and the first Director Genral of the Archaeological survey of India (1871)—is due to the authentic travel account of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, an account notable for its attention to meticulous details regarding the topography and geography of our country.

Hiuen Tsang informs us that the site of the ancient monastery was donated to the Buddha by five hundred merchants. This original endow-

ment was followed by other royal endowments from the generous Kings of Ancient Magadha who had been staunch patrons of the University in their successive reigns.

These endowments were in the form of grants of hundreds of villages, lands etc. the entire revenue of which was spent for the māintenance of the University. Hiuen Tsang mentions two monasteries as having been built by six different Kings, King Harsa being the last among them. Out of the income of the endowments, the University provided for its alumni, free of cost the four requisites of life, viz. food, clothes, shelter and medicine. Hiuen Tsang visited the Nalanda Mahavihara during the reign of Shri Harsa–when the ancient University reached its zenith of fame and glory. The number of the alumni in Hiuen Tsang's time reached the figure of 10.000, out of whom one thousand five hundred were teachers, the ratio of teacher to student thus being about 1:6.

It was an international centre of learning and students come from Korea, Japan, China, Mongolia, Tibet, Chinese Turkistan, Balkh, Afghanistan and the Indonesian islands. All these countries were at that time staunch supporters of Buddist learning.

Till the first quarter of the thirteenth century. India maintained her active cultural intercourse with Tibet. Erudite Acaryas, such as Atisa Dipamkara from Vikramaśilā, Śāntaraksita and Kamalasīla from Nalanda and Padmasambhava from Odantapurī (Mod. Biharshariff) went over to Tibet to preach the gospel of the Buddha and to bring about reforms in theoretical and practical fields of Buddhist religion with a view to making the religion of the Buddha easily acceptable and understandable by the people of the lands to which it went in its proselytizing carreer.

It may be remarked here that the sister Universities of Vikramaśilā and Odandapurī were adjuncts of the Nalanda University and both of them were under the academic and financial control of the ancient Nalanda University. Nalanda held a pre-eminent position in the field of Buddhist Logic, Epistemology, Metaphysics, Mysticism and also sciences, besides other secular subjects. It was the centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism and was the fountain head of inspiration for other countries which subscribed to the Mahayana persuasion.

It is one of the greatest tragedies in the history of the world that these ancient Universities were made the targets of human vandalism in the mediaeval period. The Tibetan historians Taranatha, Bu-Tson and Dharmasvāmin describe in agonizing language the painful events of destruction, murder, pillage and incendiaries that laid waste the once flourishing university town of Nalanda.

After the gaining of national independence the Government of Bihar, then headed by one of the most illustrious sons of Bihar the late Shri Krishna Sinha, in pursuance of a scheme worked out by Sri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S., the then Education Secretary to the Government, to revive Oriental Learning on the traditional lines and to reorientate it according to the methodology of modern scientific research, established the Nalanda Institute of Research and Post-graduate studies in Buddhist learning in 1951.

The site of this new Institute was chosen on the bank of an ancient lake, the Indra Pushkaraṇī, quite close to the ruins of the old University of Nalanda. But before the Institution was shifted to Nalanda, it started functioning in a small Bungalow at Rajgir with Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap, a renowned Pali Scholar, as its founder Director, and a Professor and a few Monk-teachers—including a Tibetan Lama, a Hindu Sannyāsī, a Japanese scholar and a French Buddhist Monk—constituting the staff.

On the 20th November, 1951 the foundation stone of the Institute was laid at Nalanda by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the New Republic of India.

The Institute shifted to Nalanda in 1953 and continued to function in a rented house in the neighbouring village of Kapatia, till its first building was formally inaugurated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Ex-President of the Indian Republic on March, 20, 1956.

The State Government in their letter No. VII 0 1013/515/15895 dated the 16th June 1951 sanctioned the establishment of "Magadh Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Pali and allied languages and Buddhist learning" at Nalanda on a temporary basis for five years only. The Idea was to make an endeavour for the revival of Nalanda as a centre of learning in Pali and Buddhist philosophy on the lines of old "Vihāras", not only for India but for the entire Buddhist world.

With this end in view the Institute started functioning from the very beginning as a residential institution with a limited number of students from the Buddhist countries. On the basis of the initial achievements made during the first five years the Govt. felt the need of developing the Institute further on a permanent basis and accordingly the Institute was sanctioned on a permanent basis in the Govt. letter No. I/N-1-044/55/4288 dated 30.7.56 and was redesignated "Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra".

The first batch of M. A. students consisting of two candidates appeared in the examination in 1952 in Pali from the Patna University.

The next year i. e. in 1953 the Institute came under the academic jurisdiction of the newly founded Bihar University and it continued to remain under its aegis till the foundation of the Magadh University which took over all the academic functions of the Bihar University in relation to the Mahavihara.

In 1955 Dr. S. Mukherjee, an erudite Sanskritist and a peerless scholar in all the branches of Indian philosophy and an acknowledged authority on Buddhist philosophy, joined as the Director of the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara and under his able and sage guidance the teaching and research programme of the Institute took a concrete and definite shape. Under his able guidance several scholars, Indian and foreign, working on different aspects of Indology got their Doctorate Degrees and the first three Research Volumes of the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara saw the light of the day.

Bhikkju J. Kashyap, the Honorary Director took upon himself the arduous task of bringing out a critical edition of the entire Pali Tipiṭaka numbering 42, were published.

The teaching programme of the Mahavihara at present includes M. A. courses in Pali, Philosophy and Ancient Indian and Asian Studies and Diploma courses in Sanskrit, Hindi, Classical Chinese, Classical Tibetan and Japanese.

Research and Publications

The Nava Nalanda Mahāvihāra being primarily a Research Institute, from its very inception, emphasis has been laid on the Research and Publication Programme of the Institute.

Two types of Research projects have been undertaken by the Institute, a short term project and a long term project. Under the short term project comes the preparation of eligible candidates for the Doctorate degrees of the Indian Universities and publication of Research Volumes and edition of unpublished Pali Texts, by members of the staff and other scholars.

The long term Research project includes the publication of the entire Tipiṭaka in the Devanāgarī script and the Pali-Hindi Dictionary scheme.

Usually, the Research programme of the Mahavihara includes, Pali Literature, Buddhist philosophy, historical and cultural subjects, having a bias towards Buddhism, and histories of the major-Asian countries influenced by Buddhism. The Mahavihara also envisages to publish from time to time monographs, critical decipherment of MSS, catalogues,

Research journals, etc. The publication will be confined principally to the work done at the Institute either by the Research scholars or members of the staff or through the project undertaken at the Institute.

Nearly 45 scholars have completed their research works at the Institute and got Ph. D. degrees from the University concerned. Besides, a good number of Japanese scholars made valuable contributions to the field of Buddhist logic and Tibetan studies under the guidance of the teachers of the Institute.

The Hiuen Tsang Memorial Hall and its proposed integration with the Nava Nalanda Mahavira

In memory of the Great Traveller Hiuen Tsang—the famous Chinese scholar and explorer, who came to Nalanda as a student and subsequently became a professor, a Hall has been constructed in the vicinity of the Mahavihara, with a view to develop it as a centre of Sinological Studies.

We received not only the 'Relics' of the Great Traveller, which were presented to us by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Pancham Lama, but also a generous aid of Rs. 5 lacs from the Chinese Government.

Twelfth January 1957 was a historic occasion when Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru the Prime Minister of India, received, on behalf of the Govt. of India, relics of Hiuen Tsang.

After the construction of the Hall a committee was constituted by the Government of India to work out the details for an integrated development of the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara and the Hiuen Tsang Memorial Hall (as it is called). This scheme is under the serious consideration of the Govt. of Bihar and the Govt. cf India.

Library

The Library occupies the pivotal position in any educational institution, especially that of a research institute, and serious research is possible only when there is a well-equipped and well-organized library.

Our Library made a humble start with a small nucleus of books and gradually as years rolled on it went on increasing both in space and in the numerical strength of volumes. In the initial stages we were fortunate enough to secure the Library of the Late Rash Bihari Mukherjee, Zemindar of Uttarpara, Dt. Hoogly, W. Bengal, consisting of a valuable collection of rare books and Mss,

We thus got the entire series of the sacred books of the East, the Pali Text Society publications and a good collection of books on Indian Philosophy in their first editions which are not at present available. Besides, we have been able to acquire a valuable collection of classical English Literature including the variorum Edition of Shakespeare, the complete collected works of Goethe in the original German (the first edition of the work, published in Berlin), complete collected works of the great French writers Cornielle and Racine and a most valuable dictionary of the French Language (published in Paris).

Next in importance comes the Wheat Loan collection obtained as donation through the good offices of the Government of the U.S.A.

The Wheat—Loan collection consists of selected books on Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics, Logic, Sociology, Cultural Anthropology and some valuable Dictionaries, encyclopaedias, Journals and Reference Books. Thus we have a fully representative collection of books on modern thought. The Mahavihara has also obtained as donations from the Theravādic Buddhist countries of Ceylon, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia, the entire set of the Pali Tipiṭaka in their respective scripts. Besides a complete set of the Aṭṭhakathās or Commentarial Literature has been obtained from the Union of Burma. For these valuable acquisitions, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to our late Director Rev. J. Kashyap through whose untiring efforts these volumes have been secured. The Chinese Government presented us the Āgamas ando ther miscellaneous works and the Dalai Lama presented a complete set of the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur to our Library.

Our Library has a complete set of the 'Tibetan Tripitaka' (Peking Edition), with its catalogue, published by the Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tokyo. We have also acquired an 'Extra Tibetan Tripitaka' (being the complete works of Buston—Khatra, founder of the Dge-luga-tra seat and Luou—stya, notable figures in the history of Tibetan Buddhism) in 13 Volumes. These books are a valuable acquisition to our Library.

Our Institute being primarily a Research Institute, it has been our aim and endeavour to secure all the important journals and periodicals indigenous and foreign, for Indological and Oriental Research.

Thus our Library is a glorious and successful Institution in itself which has gradually attained its present dimension through Liberal grants of our own governments and the friendly co-operation of the Governments of the neighbouring Buddhist countries.

Our Library is housed in a two—storeyed building, the 2nd Mahavihara which includes a reading hall and sixteen research cubicles for the accommodation of the research scholars and members of the staff.

Special Convocations

Following the traditions of old Nalanda, our Mahavihara from time to time confers the degree of *Vidyāvāridhi* on eminent scholars who have devoted their lives to the cause of Pali and Buddhist Scholarship and Buddhism. The degrees are awarded in special convocations arranged in the Mahavihara premises. Up till now six such convocations have been held and 16 eminent scholars have been awarded the degree of *Vidya-varidhi.*

Programme Ahead

Since the taking over charge of the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara by Dr. N. Tatia as the Director, the Institute has entered in a new phase. Dr. Tatia who has been for the last two decades connectdd with the development plan of the Mahavihara has given it a new dimension by opening two new Depts. in the Post-graduate classes in Ancient Indian and Asian studies and Philosophy.

We sincerely hope that under the able and sage guidance of our Director our Institute will develop into a full-fledged Indological University in near future and thus fulfil the cherished ideal that it set before it, on the day it was founded.

"शिक्षामनोविज्ञान"
(पालि साहित्य के आधार पर)

डा० नन्दकिशोर उपाध्याय
हिन्दी-व्याख्याता,
नव नालन्दा महाविहार, नालन्दा।

पालि साहित्य में "अधिशील, अधिचित्त एवं अधिप्रज्ञा", शिक्षा के इन तीन स्तरों का अध्ययन किया गया है।[1] 'अधिशील' शिक्षा के अन्तर्गत व्यक्ति के मानवोचित शीलाचरण की शिक्षा का वर्णन किया गया है। 'अधिचित्त शिक्षा' को मनोवैज्ञानिक-शिक्षा माना गया है। 'अधिप्रज्ञा शिक्षा' के द्वारा व्यक्ति के समाधि कोटि की पूर्णता अर्थात् "प्रज्ञा" की शिक्षा का विश्लेषण किया गया है।[2] किन्तु यहाँ हम "अधिचित्त" अर्थात् मनोवैज्ञानिक शिक्षा और उसके स्वरूप पर क्रमबद्ध विचार करेंगे।

१—प्रतिसंधि चित्त

शिक्षा की प्राप्ति के क्रम में व्यक्ति के शारीरिक और मानसिक दोनों ही तत्वों को प्रभावशाली माना गया है। शारीरिक तत्व को समझने के लिये वंशानुक्रमिकता को समझना होगा किन्तु मानसिक स्तर के ज्ञान की जानकारी के लिए अभिधर्म के "चित्त" की व्याख्या को समझना आवश्यक होगा। "चिनोतीति चित्तं" अर्थात् सामने आये हुए प्रत्येक छोटे-बड़े अनुभवों को चुन लेता है इसी अर्थ में इसे "चित्त" कहते हैं।[3] इस चित्त के दो स्तर हैं—प्रवृत्ति चित्त और प्रतिसंधि चित्त। प्राणी जो अनुभव करता है, जो कुछ जानता है और जो कुछ भी कर्म करता है सभी उसके मन में संचित होते जाते हैं। इस संचय के अनुसार उसकी एक "प्रवृत्तिचित्त" उत्पन्न

१—तिस्सो इमा, भिक्खवे, सिक्खा यत्थेतं सब्बं समोधानं गच्छति। कतमा तिस्सो? अधिसील सिक्खा, अधिचित्तसिक्खा, अधिपञ्ञा सिक्खाइमा खो, भिक्खवे, तिस्सो सिक्खा। अ० नि० १ पृ० २१४ ना० सं०

२—वि० म० १।१०॥

३—चित्तुप्पादकण्डवण्णना, अ० सा० पृ० ३।३३॥

होती है। मरने के बाद वह उसी प्रवृत्ति के अनुसार दूसरा जन्म ग्रहण करता है। इस जन्म में मृत्यु के क्षण मनुष्य में जो प्रवृत्ति उपस्थित रहती है उसी के अनुसार वह दूसरी योनि में जन्म ग्रहण करता है। उस जन्म में (मृत्यु के क्षण जो प्रवृत्ति उपस्थित होती है उसी के अनुरूप) यह उसका प्रतिसंधिचित्त होकर उसके मन के भीतरी स्तर का आधार बना रहता है। इस जन्म में भी वह अपने प्रयत्न से अपनी उन्नति कर सकता है जिसके फलस्वरूप मरने के क्षण उसकी प्रतिसंधि हो सकती है।[१] आधुनिक शिक्षा-मनोविज्ञान यह मानता है कि व्यक्तित्व के विकास में वंशानुक्रम एवं वातावरण का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है, किन्तु व्यक्ति की मानसिक समृद्धि के निर्णायक तत्व कौन है ? यह विचारणीय प्रश्न है। इसकी सम्यक् व्याख्या हम पालि अभिधर्म के पूर्वजन्म के संचित मनःसंस्कार से कर सकते हैं। भिन्न-भिन्न व्यक्ति भिन्न-भिन्न संस्कार लेकर उत्पन्न होता है, जो व्यक्ति के स्वयं के भले-बुरे कर्मों के फल से प्राप्त होता है। भगवान बुद्ध ने कहा है, "मेरा व्यक्तित्व अपने कर्मों के संस्कार से ही बना है और अपने कर्मों के संस्कार से ही मेरी अभिवृद्धि हो रही है"।[२] इसी पूर्वजन्म-संचित-संस्कार-चित्त को हम प्रतिसंधिचित्त कहते हैं। पुनर्जन्म के सिद्धान्त को न माननेवाले कुछ आधुनिक मनोवैज्ञानिक इसका विरोध कर सकते हैं। किन्तु मनोविश्लेषण-पद्धति के जनक डा० फ्रायड ने स्वीकार किया है कि बच्चे के जन्म के साथ ही उसे एक मानसिक समृद्धि रहती है, जिससे उसके व्यक्तित्व का नियमन होता है।[3] यह पालि अभिधर्म के बिलकुल अनुरूप है। किन्तु विचित्रता तो यह है कि इसे स्वीकार करते हुए भी डा० फ्रायड ने पुनर्जन्म को नहीं माना है। डा० फ्रायड का I. D. (तद) नामक मनःप्रान्त वही है जिसे पालि में भवङ्ग कहा गया है।

१– द्रष्टव्य– मण्डुकदेवपुत्त–विमानवत्थु।

२– कम्मस्सकोम्हि कम्मदापादो कम्मयोनि कम्मबन्धु-कम्मपटिसंरगो। यं कम्मं करिस्सामि कल्याणं वा पापकं वा तस्स दायादो भविस्सामीति। अ० नि० २ पृ० ३३५ ना० प्र०।

3– To the oldest of the mental provinces or agencies we give the name of id. It contains everything that is inherited, that is present at birth, that is fixed in the constitution—above all, therefore, the instincts, which originate in the somatic organization and which find their first mental expression in the id in forms unknown to us.

Freud: Dictionary of Psychoanalysis Pag 90.

आधुनिक पाश्चात्य शिक्षाशास्त्री का प्रायः यह कथन हैं कि जिस तरह बच्चे की शारीरिक स्थितियाँ माता-पिता के अनुरूप होती हैं उसी प्रकार उसकी बौद्धिक स्थितियों भी। पालि साहित्य यह स्वीकार करता है कि शारीरिक स्थिति का प्रभाव मन पर पड़ता है और यह भी कि मन का प्रभाव शरीर पर पड़ता है। किन्तु शरीर और मन दोनों की अपनी-अपनी स्वतंत्र धाराएं हैं। माता-पिता के अनुरूप ही सन्तान की भी बौद्धिक समृद्धि हो यह सर्वत्र देखा नहीं जाता है। बुद्धिहीन व्यक्ति का लड़का अत्यन्त मेधावी और अत्यन्त मेधावी का लड़का अत्यन्त मन्दबुद्धि का देखा जाता है। माता-पिता के मानसिक संस्थान लड़के के मन को प्रभावित तो करते हैं किन्तु ये निर्णायक तत्त्व नहीं हो सकते हैं। वातावरण उसे अपने अनुकूल ढाँचे में डालता है किन्तु बौद्धिक समृद्धि तो व्यक्ति के स्वयं के संचित मनःसंस्कार ही हैं। यहाँ उसकी सम्यक् व्याख्या अपेक्षित है।

२– पूर्वसंचित मनःसंस्कार

पूर्वसंचित मनःसंस्कार को समझने के लिये अभिधर्म के छः कार्यस्रोतों की प्रक्रिया को समझना आवश्यक होगा। ये छः कार्यस्रोत हैं— तीन कुशल (अच्छे) और तीन अकुशल (बुरे)। अलोभ, अमोह और अद्वेष तीन कुशल एवं लोभ, मोह और द्वेष—तीन अकुशल कार्यस्रोत माने गये हैं। लोभ से हम चोरी करते हैं, द्वेष से हम हत्या तक कर डालते हैं और मोह के कारण हम सदैव सशंकित रहते हैं। इसके विपरीत अलोभ (त्यागशीलता) से हम दान देते हैं, अद्वेष (मैत्रीभाव) से हम परोपकार करते हैं और अमोह (ज्ञान) से हम निःशंक रहते हैं। पालि अभिधर्म में इन कार्य-स्रोतों को "हेतु" अर्थात् "मूल" के रूप में अभिहित किया गया है।[1] मूल वृक्ष का उत्पादक और पोषक दोनों होता है। ये "हेतु" इसी प्रकार कार्य को उत्पन्न भी करते हैं और पोषण भी। इस प्रकार मनुष्य के सभी भले-बुरे कार्यों के ये ही छः हेतु माने गये हैं।[2] उनका स्पष्टीकरण आवश्यक है।

लोभ, द्वेष और मोह परस्पर विरोधी हेतु हैं। एक ही विषय की ओर एक ही क्षण लोभ और द्वेष दोनों नहीं हो सकते हैं। यदि एक वस्तु की ओर मेरा लोभ है तो उसी क्षण उसके प्रति हममें द्वेष नहीं हो सकता है। लोभ और द्वेष बढ़कर मोह में ही परिवर्तित हो सकते हैं। ये तीन हेतु मनुष्य के पाशविक अङ्ग के द्योतक हैं। मनुष्य

---

1. Abhidhamma philosophy, Vol. I, P. 5., B. J. Kashyap.

2. तथैव

विवेकशील पशु है" कहने से ही प्रकट होता है कि मनुष्य में पशुता का भी अंश है। पालि अभिधर्म बताता है कि जिस मनुष्य में जितनी मात्रा में लोभ, द्वेष और मोह के अंश पाये जाते हैं उसमें उतनी ही मात्रा में पशुता के अंश रहते हैं। इसके विपरीत जिस व्यक्ति में अलोभ, अद्वेष और अमोह के अंश होते हैं, उस व्यक्ति में उतनी ही मात्रा में दैविक प्रवृत्तियों के अंश पाये जाते हैं। ये प्रवृत्तियाँ परस्पर विरोधी नहीं है। ये एक दूसरे की सहायता और बर्द्धन करती है। इस तरह हमारे सारे कर्म इन्हीं छः हेतुओं में से एक या अनेक प्रवृत्तियों से आबद्ध होते हैं। यही नहीं, इन हेतुओं के संस्कार हमारे मन पर पड़ते जाते हैं, जो दूसरे जन्म के निर्णायक संस्कार उत्पन्न करते हैं। जिसने अपने जीवनकाल में लोभ से चोरी द्वेष से लड़ाई, झगड़ा एवं हत्या-जैसे कार्य किये हैं वह मरणोपरान्त ऐसी में योनि जन्म ग्रहण करेगा जहाँ अन्ध-मोहाभिभूत प्रवृत्तियाँ मुख्यरूप से क्रियाशील रहती हैं। मनुष्यशरीर-धारी प्राणी भी इस प्रकार के चित्त संस्कार लेकर उत्पन्न होते हैं। यह शरीर से मनुष्य किन्तु संस्कार से पशु होता है। इन तीन हेतुओं (अलोभ-अद्वेष-अमोह) के न रहने के कारण ऐसे व्यक्ति की प्रतिसंधि को अहेतुक प्रतिसंधि कहते हैं। कुछ ऐसे मनुष्य भी पाये जाते हैं जिनमें अलोभ और अद्वेष के संस्कार तो होते हैं किन्तु अमोह के अंश अत्यन्त अल्प होते हैं। ऐसे संस्कार के मनुष्य मूढ़ प्रवृत्ति (Idiot) के होते हैं[1]।

जिस व्यक्ति में त्यागभाव (अलोभ), मैत्री (अद्वेष) एवं ज्ञान (अमोह) के अंश अत्यधिक रूप में होते हैं वह समाज में रह कर दान, लोक-सेवा, ज्ञान-विज्ञान के कार्य कलापों आदि कार्यों से अपने आपको आबद्ध कर लेता है। वह जन्मान्तर में ऐसी प्रतिसंधि का व्यक्ति होकर जन्म ग्रहण करेगा जो स्वभावतः त्यागशील, प्रियशील एवं मेधावी होगा। यही नहीं, पालि अभिधर्म तो बताता है कि जिस व्यक्ति ने योगाभ्यास से अपने चित्त की एकाग्रता समाधि की कोटि तक बढ़ा ली है वह मरणोपरान्त ऐसी देवयोनि में जन्म ग्रहण करेगा जहाँ कि मनः स्थिति उसी एकाग्रता की कोटि की होगी।[2] यह कहना समीचीन नहीं जान पड़ता है कि मनुष्य के जन्मजात तत्त्व बदले नहीं जा सकते हैं। पालि साहित्य इस बात का आश्वासन देता है कि अपने प्रयत्न से व्यक्ति अपनी प्रतिसंधि में सुधार कर सकता है। बुद्ध के "कम्मदायादो" वचन में यही भाव सन्निहित है। उन्होंने 'अत्ता हि अत्तनों नाथो' कहकर मनुष्य को अपना निर्माता आप स्वीकार किया है।

---

1 Abhidhamma Philogophy Vols I, P. 7. B. J. Kashyap.

२–विमान वत्थु–पृ०

इस तरह व्यक्तियों में, जातियों में अथवा योनियों में जो इतने भेद देखे जाते हैं, उनकी व्याख्या पालि अभिधर्म इन्ही छः हेतुओं के संस्कार से करता है। जन्मान्तर में चित्त के संस्कार अवतरित होते हैं जो जीवन के नियामक तत्त्व माने गये हैं। यह वही है जिसे फ्रायड ने कहा है। कहने का सारांश यह है कि व्यक्ति ने निर्माण में वंशानुक्रम, वातावरण और पूर्वजन्मसंचित मनःसंस्कार—इन तीनों का सहयोग आवश्यक है। व्यक्ति के अध्ययन के लिए पालि अभिधर्म के पूर्वजन्मसंचित मनःसंस्कार का सिद्धान्त बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण है।

प्रतिसंधि और प्रवृत्ति चित्त के अतिरिक्त वाक्शक्ति को भी व्यक्ति के निर्माण का सहायक तत्त्व माना गया है। अतः इसका अध्ययन आवश्यक है।

३–वाक् शक्ति

मानव-शिशु बाल्यकाल से ही तरह-तरह के अनुभव प्राप्त करता है। वह अनेक संकेतों को ग्रहण करता है जो आगे चलकर शब्द का रूप ग्रहण कर लेता है। इन्हीं शब्दों के आधार पर उसकी वाक्शक्ति का विकास होता है और वह भाषा का लाभ करता है। समाज के द्वारा उसकी भाषा समृद्ध होती जाती है। जैसे-जैसे उसकी भाषा समृद्ध होती जाती है वैसे-वैसे उसकी प्रतिभा का भी विकास होता जाता है। भगवान् बुद्ध ने कहा है, "वितक्क विचारा वची सङ्खरो।[1] अर्थात् वाक्शक्ति के आधार पर वितर्क और विचार करने की शक्ति प्राप्त होती है। यदि कोई शिशु जन्म से ही समाज से पृथक कर दिया जाय तो उसे भाषा की प्राप्ति नहीं हो सकती है। इसका फल यह होगा कि उसे विचार करने की भी शक्ति नहीं रहेगी। इसके अभाव में उसका मानसिक विकास नहीं हो सकेगा और विद्याअध्ययन के लिए उसे साधारणस्तर की प्रतिभा भी नहीं रहेगी। पालि अभिधर्म के इस सिद्धान्त का समर्थन निम्नलिखित स्थल के उद्धरण से हो जाता है।

आधुनिक मनोवैज्ञानिकों के सामने भारतवर्ष में लखनऊ के जंगल से प्राप्त रामू और फ्रांस देश के cane जंगल से प्राप्त विकटर नामक दो भेड़िये बालकों के उदाहरण आये हैं। इनके ऊपर किये गये प्रयोग एवं अध्ययन का निष्कर्ष यह हुआ कि लाख

१–धम्मपद—अत्तवग्गो, ४।

२–सं० नि० ३, पृ० २६१ नालन्दा संस्करण।

प्रयत्नों के बावजूद भी भाषा का ज्ञान इन्हें नहीं हो पाया और इनके व्यवहार पशुवत ही रह गये [1]। पालि अभिधर्म के अनुसार वाक्शक्ति विहीन होने के कारण ही ऐसा हुआ यह अत्यन्त ही पुष्ट और समीचीन प्रमाण है। रामू और विक्टर की चिकित्सा के लिए यह आवश्यक था कि उन्हें पास की चीजों के नाम बताये जाते और उन्हें बोलना सिखाया जाता। जैसे-जैसे वाक् शक्ति बढ़ती वैसे-वैस उनकी प्रतिभा का भी विकास होता।

पालि साहित्य ने प्रतिभा के विभिन्न स्तरों का वर्णन अपने पारिभाषिक शब्दों में जो प्रस्तुत किया है वह बड़ा ही वैज्ञानिक प्रतीत होता है। इसे हम उस प्रकार समझ सकते हैं। जब कोई चीज हमारी आँखों के सामने आती है तब उनका इन्द्रिय ज्ञान होता है इसे "अत्थपटिसम्भिदञाणं" कहते हैं।[2] जब हमें किसी चीज के सामान्य ज्ञान का बोध होता है तो उसे" "धम्मपटिम्भिदञाण कहते हैं।[3] जब यह सामान्य ज्ञान शब्दों में प्रवृत्त होता है तब प्रतिभा का श्रीगणेश होता है। इस "निरुत्ति पटिसम्भिदञाण[4] कहते हैं। शब्दों में उतारा गया ज्ञान तीव्र गति से अग्रसारित होता है। इसे पटिभानपटिसम्भिदञाण [5] कहते हैं।

रामू और विक्टर का विकास अत्थपटिसम्भिदा तक ही हुआ। धम्मपटिसम्भिदा तक वे कितनी दूर तक पहुंच सके, कहा नहीं जा सकता। निरुत्तिपटिसम्भिदा तो उन्हें हुई ही नहीं, अतः उन्हें पटिभान पटिसम्भिदा कैसे होती ?

अर्थ, धर्म निरुक्ति एवं पटिभान (प्रतिभा) ये प्रतिसंविदा ज्ञान की चार सीढ़ियाँ हैं। मिलिन्द पञ्हो नामक ग्रन्थ में भी भिक्षु नागसेन की विद्वत्ता के लिये इन विशेषणों की चर्चा की गई है .[6] पालि साहित्य शिष्यत्व के लिए इन गुणों का अर्जन अपरिहार्य रूप से मानता है।

1--Text book of Abnormal Psychology, P. 580-585 Landics.

२–अत्थनानत्ते पञ्ञा अत्थपटिसम्भिदे ञाणं। पटि० पृ० ४ ना० सं०

३ धम्मनानत्ते पञ्ञा धम्मपटिसम्भिदे ञाणं। पटि० पृ० ४ ना० सं०

४–निरुत्तिनानत्ते पञ्ञा निरुत्तिपटिसम्भिदे ञाणं। पटि० पृ० ४ ना० सं०

५–पटिभाननानत्ते पञ्ञा पटिभानपटिसम्भिदे ञाणं। पटि० पृ० ४ ना० सं०

६–अत्थधम्मनिरुत्ति पटिभानप्पटिसम्भिदासु पारमिप्पतो-मिलिन्दपञ्हो पृ०२४

४–अवधान बनाम स्मृति

शिक्षा-मनोविज्ञान यह भी अध्ययन करता है कि किस व्यक्ति का अवधान कैसा है और साथ-साथ उसकी स्मृति कैसी है। इस दृष्टि से पालि साहित्य इस पर विशेष प्रकाश डालता है। ऐसा देखा जाता है कि एक ही श्रेणी के विद्यार्थी भिन्न-भिन्न अवधान के होते हैं। कोई शिक्षक को बातों को तुरत समझ लेता है तो कोई घंटों प्रयत्न के बाद भी नहीं समझ पाता है। प्रश्न होता है कि अवधान जन्मजात है या उपार्जित ? पालि अभिधर्म बताता है कि अवधान व्यक्ति को पूर्वजन्मसंचित मनः संस्कार से विरासत के रूप में मिलते हैं। किन्तु वहीं यह भी बताया गया है कि दुर्बल अवधान को पुष्ट और प्रबल बनाया जा सकता है। दीघ निकाय के "महा सति पट्ठान सुत्त" में इसकी पूरी प्रक्रिया बतायी गयी है।[1] इस प्रकिया में साधक बाह्य विचारों से अपने मन को समेट अपने भीतर ही स्मृति बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करता है। अपने शरीर पर स्मृति बढ़ाने के अभ्यास को "कायानुपस्सना" कहते हैं। अपनी वेदनाओं के ऊपर स्मृति बढ़ाने के अभ्यास को "वेदनानुपस्सना" कहते हैं। अपने चित्त की अवस्थाओं पर स्मृति बढ़ाने के अभ्यास को चित्तानुपस्सना कहते हैं। संसार के अन्य धर्मों (स्वरूपों) पर स्मृति के अभ्यास को "धम्मानुपस्सना" कहते हैं। जिस व्यक्ति ने इन चार अनुपस्सनाओं को अभ्यास कर लिया है उसका अवधान अत्यन्त प्रबल से प्रबलतर होता जाता है। इस प्रक्रिया से वह शिष्यत्व के लिए अपेक्षित महत्व-पूर्ण गुणों का अर्जन करते जाता है।

पालि अभिधर्म यह बतलाता है कि हमारे सभी अनुभव हमारे मन में संचित होते रहते हैं। यह संचयन मन का गहरा स्तर है; यहीं से हम अपेक्षित बातों को निकाल कर ऊपर के पटल पर ले आते हैं। हम पुरानी बातें याद कर लेते हैं, यहाँ तक कि बचपन की कितनी ही बातें सहसा उभर पड़ती है। भगवान् बुद्ध ने बताया है कि भावना का अभ्यास कर मनुष्य स्मृति में अधिकाधिक प्रवीणता प्राप्त कर सकता है। इस भावना के अभ्यास से छोटे-छोटे अनुभव भी याद किये जा सकते हैं। यहाँ तक कि पूर्व जन्म की बातें भी स्मृति-पटल पर लायी जा सकती हैं। भगवान बुद्ध ने जातक में अपने अनेक पूर्व जन्मों की बात बताई हैं। गीता में भगवान श्रीकृष्ण के "बहूनि में व्यतीतानि जन्मानितवचार्जुन" कथन इसके पुष्ट प्रमाण है।

मिलिन्द पञ्हो नामक ग्रन्थ पालि साहित्य का एक अनूठा ग्रंन्थ है। इस ग्रन्थ

१–दीघ निकाय, २, पृष्ठ २१७–२३४, नालन्दा संस्करण।

में स्मृति सम्बन्धी अच्छी सामग्री मिलती है। स्मृति की व्याख्या करते हुए इसे "अपिलापनलक्खणासति उपग्गहनलक्खणा चा ति।[1] कहा गया है। अपिलापन का अर्थ होता है बार-बार याद करना और उग्गहन का अर्थ होता है सीखना। स्मृति कैसे होती है और कैसे इसे पुष्ट बनाया जाता है, यहाँ इस पर काफी प्रकाश डाला गया है। यथा[2] —— (१) अभिज्ञा अर्थात् जानने से स्मृति उत्पन्न होती है, (२) बाहर की बातों से भी स्मृति की उत्पत्ति होती है (३) किसी बड़ी घटना घटने पर स्मृति हो जाती है (४) आनन्ददायक बातों के होने से स्मृति हो आती है (५) दुःखद बातें या दुखद घटनायें याद उत्पन्न करा देती है (६) दो वस्तुओं में समानता होंने से एक को देखने पर दूसरी की भी स्मृति हो आती है (७) दो विरोधी वस्तुओं में से एक को देखने से दूसरी की भी स्मृति हो जाती है (८) ये दूसरों के कहने पर स्मृति हो आती है। (९) किन्हीं चिन्ह को देखकर स्मरण हो आता है (१०) प्रयत्न द्वारा भूली बातें याद हो आती है (११) विचार करने से भी स्मृति हो आती है (१२) हिसाब लगाने से भी कोई बात याद हो जाती है (१३) भावना करने से भी स्मृति बढ़ जाती है (१४) कण्ठस्थ की गई बात शीघ्र याद हो जाती है (१५) किताब को देखकर भी याद आ जाती है (१६) धरोहर की चीजों को देखते ही उसकी शर्त्त याद आ जाती है (१७) पूर्वानुभव के कारण उसकी स्मृति हो आती है।

अगर आज के शिक्षा मनोवैज्ञानिक इन तथ्यों पर विचार करें और "स्मृत्युपस्थान" की भावना को शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में सम्मिलित कर इस पर प्रयोग करें तो उस क्षेत्र में उन्हें काफी सफलता मिल सकती है।

५ - पच्चनीवरण (ज्ञानार्जन की पाँच बाधाएँ)

ज्ञान की उच्चतम श्रेणी की प्राप्ति के मार्ग में काम, क्रोध निद्रा औद्धत्य एवं पश्चाताप, और संदेह ये पाँच नीवरण हैं, बाधायें हैं। पाश्चात्य मनोविज्ञान ने इन्हें मूल प्रवृत्ति (Inshict) की संज्ञा दी है। उनकी मान्यता है कि ये मनुष्य के स्वभाव में निहित तत्व हैं और इनका प्रहाण संभव नहीं है। किन्तु इसके विरुद्ध पालि अभिधर्म साधना का वह मार्ग बताया है जिससे उनका प्रहाण हो जाता है।

इन नीवरणों की सूची को पाश्चात्य मनोविज्ञानवेत्ता मैगड्गल की सूची से इस प्रकार मिलान कर सकते हैं :—

१—मिलिन्द पञ्हो पृ० ३९, बम्बई प्रकाशन।
२—मिलिन्द पञ्हो पृ० ८१, बम्बई प्रकाशन।

मैगडूगल	बुद्ध
१–प्रेम और वात्सल्य	१–कामच्छन्द
२–आत्मोत्कर्ष और आधिपत्य लिप्सा	
३–भय और लड़ाई	२–व्यापाद
४–क्रोध और विरोध	
५–वैराग्य और त्याग	३–थीनमिद्ध
६–आश्चर्य और उत्सुकता	
७–उत्साह और विजय	४–उद्धच्च

यहाँ हम देखते हैं कि मैगडूगल का प्रेम और वात्सल्य बुद्ध का कामच्छन्द नीवरण ही है। मैगडूगल का आत्मोत्कर्ष और आधिपत्य-लिप्सा भी एक प्रकार का कामच्छन्द ही है। मैगडूगल के भय और लड़ाई, क्रोध और विरोध ये दोनों बुद्ध के व्यापाद नीवरण के अन्तर्भूत हो जाते हैं। मैगडूगल का वैराग्य और त्याग्य एक प्रकार की आत्मसमर्पणता ही है जो बुद्ध के थीनमिद्ध में सम्मिलित किये जा सकते हैं। मैगडूगल के आश्चर्य और उत्सुकता तथा उल्लास और विजय चित्त के औद्धत्य भाव होने के कारण बुद्ध के उद्धच्च नीवरणों में चले आते हैं। बुद्ध के कुकुच्च (कौकृत्य) नीवरण के समानान्तर तत्व मैगडूगल के (Instinct) की सूची में उपलब्ध नहीं है। इसी प्रकार बुद्ध के विचिकिच्छा "नीवरण" का वहाँ कोई समानान्तर नहीं दीख पड़ता है।

पाश्चात्यमनोविज्ञान की तरह पालि अभिधर्म इन्हें अपरिहार्य तत्व नहीं मानता है, बल्कि पूर्व जन्मों के संस्कारजनित अचेतन मन में निवास करनेवाले इन तत्वों के परिशमन का मार्ग भी बतलाता है। इन नीवरणों के परिशमन के पश्चात् ही तो व्यक्ति का लाभ करता है।

६–संवेग (Emotion)

प्रत्येक Instinct (मूलप्रवृत्ति) के साथ एक संवेग (Emotion) लगा रहता है। मूल प्रवृत्ति आलम्बन के प्रति क्रियाशीलता उत्पन्न करता है और संवेग अपने शरीर और मन के भीतर एक उथल-पुथल पैदा कर देता है। संवेग ज्ञानार्जन के मार्ग के बाधक हैं। भय का संवेग हमारे जीवन में बड़ा ही महत्व रखता है। मैगडूगल की तरह बुद्ध संवेग को अपरिहार्य तत्व न मानकर इनके परिशमन की विधि बतायी है। यथार्थ

में भय बाहर से आने की चीज नहीं है। हमारा जो द्वेष बाहर की ओर प्रवाहित होता है वही दीवाल पर फेंके गये रबर की गेन्द की तरह अपने ही ऊपर लौटता है और तब हम भय का अनुभव करते हैं। जिस मनुष्य को किसी से द्वेष नहीं है उसे किसी से भय भी नहीं है। सेक्सपियरकृत मैकवेथ नाटक इसका ज्वलन्त प्रमाण है। लेडी मैकवेथ ने जब डंकन राजा की हत्या कर दी तो वह भयाक्रान्त पागल हो गयी। वह भय से थर-थर काँपती फिरती और सर्वत्र खून के धब्बे ही धब्बे देखती थी।

अंगुत्तर निकाय में बुद्ध ने कहा है, "भय शब्द काम-भोगों का ही पर्याय है", यह इसलिए कि जो कोई काम-राग में अनुरक्त होता है, छन्द-राग से अनुबद्ध है वह न इस लोक में भय से मुक्त होता है और न परलोक में ही। इसलिए भय काम-भोगों का ही पर्याय है। भारत के प्रसिद्धसन्त गोरख नाथ और मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ की कथा इसका अच्छा उदाहरण है। जब जंगल के मार्ग से होकर वे दोनों जा रहे थे तब मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ ने गोरखनाथ से पूछा—'क्या गोरखनाथ, यहाँ कोई भय है!' गोरखनाथ ने कहा— 'नहीं गुरुजी, यहाँ कोई भय नहीं है।' कुछ दूर जाने पर फिर गुरुजी ने यही प्रश्न किया। गोरखनाथ पहले तो यह समझ न सके कि गुरुजी को बार-बार यह भय क्यों हो रही है। वे जब दीर्घशंका के लिए कुछ दूर गये तो गोरखनाथ ने उनकी झोली खोली और देखा कि उसमें एक सोने का गोला था। वह समझ गया कि गुरुजी के भय का मूल यही है। उसने झट उस गोले को नदी में फेंक दिया। आगे आकर गुरुजी ने पूछा-- 'गोरखनाथ, क्या यहाँ कोई भय है?' गोरख नाथ ने हँसते हुए कहा-- 'नहीं गुरुजी, अब कोई भय नहीं है। जो भय आपके झोले में था उसे नदी में फेंक दिया।' इससे गुरु मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ बड़े प्रसन्न हुए और निर्भय हो दोनों ने जंगल को पार किया। यह उदाहरण बताता है कि अनुरक्ति ही भय की जननी है।

जेम्सलैंगा-सिद्धान्त

संवेगों पर विजय प्राप्त करने के लिए सतिपट्ठान की साधना अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है। दीघनिकाय के महासतिपट्ठान सुत्त में भगवान बुद्ध ने दो बातों पर बड़ा बल दिया; एक यह कि सीधा होकर बैठें और शरीर को शान्त रखें, दूसरा यह कि आश्वास-प्रश्वास को सूक्ष्म और कोमल बना लें। इससे उसके संवेग शांत हो जायेंगे। संवेगों में जो शरीर के भीतर उथल-पुथल हो जाता है और सांस तेज चलने लगती है, इसका अनुभव हम अपने जीवन में बराबर किया करते हैं। शरीर और आश्वास-प्रश्वास के शान्त होने पर संवेग भी शान्त हो जाते हैं। बुद्ध की शान्त-प्रतिभा भी यह शिक्षा देती है कि तुम

भी इसी तरह शान्त होकर बैठो। शायद इसीलिए जेम्सलैंगा-सिद्धान्त यह मानता है कि भालू को देखकर जो हम भाग खड़े होते हैं, उसीसे भय का संवेग होता है। साधारण मनुष्यों को यह सिद्धान्त बड़ा उटपटांग लगेगा। वह यही कहेगा कि भालू को देखकर हम भयभीत हो जाते हैं, इसलिए भाग खड़े होते हैं। पालि अभिधर्म के अनुसार जेम्सलैंगा-सिद्धान्त में थोड़ा संशोधन करना आवश्यक होगा, वह यह कि भालू को देख जब हम अपने को अरक्षित पाते हैं तब उस क्षण हमें भय होता है और हम भाग खड़े होते हैं। भागने से भय का संवेग और बढ़ जाता है। चिड़ियाखाने में जाकर पिंजड़े में पड़े भालू को जब हम देखते हैं तब हम भाग नहीं खड़े होते हैं और न हमें भय का संवेग ही होता है। यह इस बात को सिद्ध करता है कि भालू को देखते ही हम भाग खड़े नहीं होते किन्तु देखने एवं भाग खड़े होने के बीच एक अरक्षित भावना का होना आवश्यक होता है। जेम्सलैंगा-सिद्धान्त इस अर्थ में बड़ा सत्य ठहरता है कि यदि हम अपने शरीर को शान्त रखें तो संवेग के आक्रमण की तीव्रता नहीं होगी। आनापान सति की भावना इस तरह भय पर विजय प्राप्त करने के लिए अत्यन्त उपादेय है। भय के अलावे दूसरे संवेगों के प्रहाण के लिए भी यह उतना ही उपादेय है। संवेगों का आक्रमण तब होता है जब हम असावधान रहते हैं। सावधान तथा प्रबल जागरूक व्यक्ति को संवेग अभिभूत नहीं कर सकते। अतः जागरूकता का अभ्यास महासति पट्ठान सुत्त में निर्दिष्ट विधि से करना बड़ा हितकर है।

भय पर विजय प्राप्त करने के लिए भगवान बुद्ध ने चार ब्रह्म-विहारों के अभ्यास की शिक्षा दी है। ब्रह्म-विहार चार हैं—मेत्ता, करुणा, मुदिया और उपेक्खा। इन चारों का रहस्य इस बात में है कि साधक संसार के प्रति माता का चित्त उत्पन्न करे जिस प्रकार माता अपने बच्चे के प्रति भाव रखती है, उसी तरह संसार के सभी लोगों के प्रति भाव उत्पन्न करना ही ब्रह्म-विहार की साधना है। इसके अभ्यास से क्रोध, द्वेष समूल नष्ट हो जाते हैं। फलस्वरूप उसे बाहर से भी भय की आशंका नहीं रहती है। इन ब्रह्म-विहारों के अभ्यास से सभी तरह के संवेगों पर विजय प्राप्त कर समाधि का लाभ करना संभव होता है।

शिक्षा मनोविज्ञान के क्षेत्र में पालिअभिधर्म की भूमिका दीख पड़ती है। इस छोटे से निबन्ध में सभी तथ्यों पर प्रकाश डालना संभव नहीं है। अकेले व्यक्तित्व और उसके निर्धारण पर एक विस्तृत निबन्ध लिखा जा सकता है। उपर्युक्त तथ्यों

पर दृष्टिपात करते हुए यह कहा जा सकता है कि पालि अभिधर्म ने पूर्व-जनित-संस्कार की महत्ता को स्वीकार करते हुए वर्त्तमान जन्म में मनुष्य को अपना निर्माता आप माना है। भगवान् बुद्ध यहाँ प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक कांट के उस सिद्धांत के साथ दीख पड़ते हैं कि Man is self created animal. अंत में यह कहा जा सकता है कि पालि अभिधर्म की बातों को आधुनिक शिक्षा-मनोवैज्ञानिक अगर स्वीकार कर इसके अनुरूप कार्य करें तो शिक्षा-जगत् में एक क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्त्तन लाया जा सकता है।



बौद्ध विनय की पृष्ठभूमि

डा० नन्द किशोर प्रसाद,
पालि-प्राध्यापक
नव नालन्दा महाविहार, नालन्दा।

(क) प्राग्बौद्ध धर्म एवं धर्माचरण

बुद्ध के प्रादुर्भाव के ठीक पूर्व भारत में व्याप्त धार्मिक विश्वास एवं धर्माचरण पर पालि-साहित्य काफी प्रकाश डालता है, जिसकी पुष्टि ब्राह्मणों एवं जैनों के उपलब्ध साहित्य से भी होती है। प्रस्तुत निबंध का उद्देश्य एतत्सम्बन्धी सभी बारीकियों की छान-बीन न कर, मात्र उन परिस्थितियों की ओर संकेत करना है, जो बौद्ध-शासन, विशेषकर विनय के विस्तृत विधान के कारण हुए।

तत्कालीन आचार्यों एवं दार्शनिकों के दर्शनों की समीक्षा हमें सहज ही यह कहने के लिए प्रेरित करती है कि छः अन्यतैर्थिकों द्वारा ज्ञप्त छः प्रकार के सिद्धान्तों में से मात्र दो सिद्धान्त—अक्रियावाद एवं क्रियावाद, शेष चार सिद्धान्तों की अपेक्षा अत्यधिक लोकप्रिय थे। प्रथम सिद्धान्त के आचार्य एवं नेता अजितकेसकम्बल एवं द्वितीय के आचार्य निगण्ठणाटपुत्त[1] थे।

अक्रियावादियों (जो पीछे चलकर लोकायत के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुए) के अनुसार कोई भी प्राणी पृथ्वी, जल, वायु और अग्नि इन चार महाभूतों एवं आकाश से निर्मित हैं। प्राणि की मृत्यु के उपरान्त ये सभी महाभूत अपने-अपने मूलरूप ग्रहण कर लेते हैं तथा ज्ञानेन्द्रियाँ आकाश में विलीन हो जाती हैं। इस सिद्धान्त का सार यह है कि मरणोपरान्त पुनर्जन्म नहीं होता है। अतः यज्ञ-याज्ञों का सम्पादन एवं तपाचरण निरर्थक है।[2]

१—त्रिपिटक में भगवान महावीर निगण्ठणाटपुत्त के नाम से अभिहित हैं। शेष चार अन्यतैर्थिक हैं—पूरणकस्सप, मक्खलिगोसाल, पकुधकच्चायन तथा सञ्जयबेलट्ठपुत्त। देखें, दीघनिकाय, भाग—१, पृष्ठ ४५—५२।

२—दीघ निकाय, भाग—१, पृष्ठ ४८।

इसके साथ-साथ लोकायतों की इस धारणा की पुष्टि जैन एवं ब्राह्मण श्रोतों से भी होती है। जैन आगम के दूसरे ग्रन्थ सूत्रकृतांग में यह उल्लेख है कि लोकायत शरीर में ही आत्मा को आरोपित करते हैं। अतः कोई भी कर्म चाहे वह भला हो अथवा बुरा—इन नास्तिकों के लिये समान है। ऐसी धारणा के कारण सांसारिक सुखों का आनन्द वे छककर लेना चाहते हैं।[१]

अक्रियावादियों अर्थात् लोकायतों का उल्लेख करनेवाले अनेक ब्राह्मण-ग्रन्थों में से सर्वसिद्धान्त-संग्रह ऐवं भगवद्गीता के कुछ उदाहरण हमारे लिये विशेष उपयोगी हैं। सर्वसिद्धान्त संग्रह[२] के निम्नलिखित उद्धरण में अजितकेसकम्बल के सिद्धान्त मरणोपरान्त शरीर के महाभूतों का विलगाव, शरीर और आत्मा की एकरूपता, पुनर्जन्म एवं स्वर्ग-नरक में अविश्वास और भले एवं बुरे कर्मों की अक्रियाशीलता की झलक स्पष्ट है—

लोकायतिकपक्षे तु तत्वं भूतचतुष्टयं ।
पृथिव्यापस्तथा तेजो वायुरित्येव नापरं ॥

× × ×

—देह एवात्मा न ततोन्यो विलक्षणः ।
इहलोकात् परो नान्यः स्वर्गास्ति नरको न च ॥

× × ×

तपोभिरुप वासाधैर्मूंध एवं प्रशुष्यति ॥

इसी प्रकार भगवद्गीता[३] का निम्नोक्त उद्धरण सूत्रकृतांग के इस विचार से साम्य रखता है कि लोकायतों का एकमात्र उद्देश्य जीवन के आनन्द का उपभोग है—

चिन्तामपरिमेयां च प्रलयान्तामुपाश्रिताः ।
कामोपभोगपरमा एतावदिति निश्चिताः ॥

क्रियावादियों में निगण्ठणाठपुत्तीय एवं जटिल श्रमण उल्लेखनीय हैं।[४] जैन-दर्शन के अनुसार मोक्ष की प्राप्ति पूर्व के भले एवं बुरे कर्मों के क्षय (निर्जरा) और

१—सुयगडंग (सेक्रेड बुक ऑफ दी इस्ट), भाग—१, पृष्ठ ३४१।
२—वही पृष्ठ, ५—६।
३—वही पृष्ठ १६—११।
४—कम्मवादिनो एते, भिक्खवे, किरियावादिनो। महावग्ग, १—३०—८७ पृष्ठ ७६।

नवीन कर्मों के प्रवाह को अवरुद्ध कर (संवर) ही किया जा सकता है।[१] जैनों के अनुसार इसका एकमात्र साधन है अति कष्टसाध्य तपश्चर्या। यही कारण है कि जैन श्रमण आत्म-संयम और आत्म-दमन पर अत्यधिक बल देते हैं। आत्म-दमन की पुष्टि में निकायों में एक स्थान पर निगण्ठणाटपुत्तीय श्रमणों का बुद्ध के साथ हुए निम्नोक्त संवाद का उल्लेख है—"तो, भन्ते गौतम, आनन्द की प्राप्ति आनन्द से नहीं की जा सकती, आनन्द की प्राप्ति दुःख से होती है। भन्ते गौतम, यदि आनन्द की प्राप्ति आनन्द से होती तो मगधराज सेनिय बिम्बिसार आनन्द की प्राप्ति कर लेते, मगधराज सेनिय बिम्बिसार भन्ते गौतम से अधिक आनन्द का उपभोग करनेवाले होते।[२] वास्तव में निगण्ठों का यह तर्क अकाट्य एवं प्रतीति-युक्त है।

सानञ्जफलसुत्त[३] के अनुसार जैनों द्वारा अभ्यस्त आत्म-संयम चार प्रकार के हैं। यह चातुयामसंवर हैं—(१) सभी (सजीव) जल सम्बन्धी संयम, (२) सभी प्रकार के दुष्कर्म सम्बन्धी संयम, (३) सभी प्रकार के दुष्कर्मों से मुक्ति और (४) आत्म-संयम से व्यावृतता अर्थात् पूर्ण आत्म-संयम की प्राप्ति। दूसरी व्याख्या के अनुसार निगण्ठों का यह संयम-चतुष्टय उनके मुख्य चार लक्षणों—जैन मुनियों का सभी प्रकार की इच्छाओं से निवृत्ति, संसार से निस्पृह होकर एकाकी जीवन का अभ्यास, अपरिग्रह का अभ्यास तथा उनकी आत्म-चिन्तनशीलता एवं ज्ञान में तल्लीनता—के द्योतक हैं। इसी संयम चतुष्टय का अभ्यास मुनि को गत्त (अर्थात् जिसकी आत्मा ने परम लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति कर ली हो) तथा यतत्त (अर्थात् जिसकी आत्मा नियंत्रित हो चुकी हो) बनाता है।[४]

महासीहनादसुत्त[५] में ब्राह्मणेतर ऋषि-मुनियों द्वारा अभ्यस्त जिन तपों का उल्लेख अचेल कस्सप द्वारा किया गया है, उनमें से अधिकतर स्पष्टतः जैन हैं। उदाहरणार्थ, नग्नता का अभ्यास, सिर के बाल एवं दाढ़ी आदि का लुंचन तथा भोजन, वस्त्र और आवास सम्बन्धी अनेक अत्यधिक कष्टसाध्य नियमों का अभ्यास जैन शासन के अनिवार्य सिद्धान्त हैं।

१—मज्झिम निकाय, भाग—१, पृष्ठ १२८।

२—वही, पृ० १२९

३—इध, महाराज, निगण्ठो सब्बवारिवारितो च होति, सब्बावारियुत्तो च, सब्बावारिधुतो च, सब्बावारिफुटो च। एवं खो महाराज। निगण्ठो चातुयामसंवरसंवुतो होति-दीघनिकाय, भाग—१, पृष्ठ ५०।

४—महावीर, हिज लाइफ ऐण्ड टीचिंग्स (बी० सी० लाहा), पृष्ठ १३—१४।

५—दीघनिकाय, भाग—१, महासीहनादसुत्त।

तात्पर्य यह कि बुद्ध के प्रादुर्भाव के पूर्व जो ब्राह्मणेतर धर्माचार्य एवं धर्मप्रवर्तक थे, उनमें से कुछ सुखवाद को तपश्चर्या से श्रेष्ठ मानते थे और कुछ ठीक इसके विपरीत तपश्चर्या पर जोर देते थे। दूसरी ओर ब्राह्मण धर्माचार्यों ने परमब्रह्म की प्राप्ति का बिल्कुल नवीन मार्ग ढूंढ़ निकाला। यह नवीन मार्ग था यज्ञ-याज्ञों एवं धार्मिक कर्म-काण्डों का सम्पादन। अतएव ब्राह्मणों ने तपश्चर्या का अभ्यास उतना ही करने का प्रयास किया जितना यज्ञ-याज्ञों एवं धार्मिक कर्म-काण्डों के अनुष्ठान के लिए आवश्यक था।[1] इनके अतिरिक्त कुछ ऐसे लोग भी थे जो तपश्चर्या का पालन पूरी कड़ाई तथा निष्ठा के साथ करते थे।[2]

(ख) बौद्ध दृष्टिकोण

जब भारत दर्शन के क्षेत्र में सुखवाद और तपवाद की खींचातानी में पड़ा था, बुद्ध के प्रादुर्भाव ने भारत की धार्मिक स्थिति में क्रान्ति ला दिया। यद्यपि बुद्ध का जन्म एक राजकुमार के रूप में हुआ, किन्तु उन्हें इन्द्रियजनित सुखों से जन्मजात घृणा थी। अतः किसी भी प्रकार का सांसारिक ऐश्वर्य एवं सुख उन्हें सन्तुष्ट नहीं कर सका। इसके विपरीत ये सब उनके लिए निराशाजनक सिद्ध हुए। संसार की निस्सारता का यह कटु-सत्य कि कोई भी प्राणि चाहे वह बड़ा हो अथवा छोटा, सम्पन्न हो अथवा विपन्न-रोग, बुढ़ापा और मृत्यु से परे नहीं है, तात्पर्य यह कि संसार नाना प्रकार के दुःखों से आकीर्ण है—उनकी दृष्टि से नहीं बच सका। इस सत्य ने उन्हें परमानन्द की प्राप्ति का तत्कालीन अत्यधिक लोकप्रिय मार्ग अर्थात् तपस्वी-जीवन ग्रहण करने के लिए वाध्य कर दिया। तपस्या के मार्ग का अनुशरण कर वे पूरे मनोयोग के साथ तपश्चर्या में लग गये। किन्तु कुछ ही समय के उपरान्त यह भी उन्हें निरर्थक जान पड़ा और उन्होंने अनुभव किया कि अत्यधिक आत्मदमन से मात्र शारीरिक एवं मानसिक शक्तियों के क्षीण होने के सिवाय और कोई लाभ नहीं है।

बुद्ध द्वारा स्वानुभूत राजसी एवं तपस्वी इन दोनों प्रकार के जीवन ने उन्हें यह विश्वास करने को विवश किया कि इन दोनों मार्गों में से कोई भी मार्ग परमानन्द की प्राप्ति कराने में समर्थ नहीं है। उपरोक्त दोनों स्थितियों के सम्बंध में उनकी निराशा की झलक पंचवर्षीय भिक्षुओं को उनके द्वारा उपदिष्ट प्रथम धर्मोपदेश में मिलती है, जहाँ इनकी भर्त्सना दो अंतों की संज्ञा देकर की गई है। इनमें प्रथम अंत (विलासिता)

१—अर्ली मौनास्टिक बुद्धिज्म (डा० एन० दत्त), भाग—१, पृष्ठ १७।
२—महाभारत के शांतिपर्व एवं अनुशासनपर्व को देखें।

को हीन, ग्राम्य, सांसारिक, अनार्य एवं अनर्थकर तथा द्वितीय (तपश्चर्या) को दुःख, अनार्य एवं अनर्थंकर बताया गया है।[1]

इस प्रकार सबसे बड़ा लाभ जो भगवान बुद्ध ने अपने पूर्वानुभव से उठाया वह यह कि उन्होंने मध्यमा प्रतिपदा यानि उपरोक्त दोनों तथाकथित अतियों के बीच के मार्ग का अनुसरण किया। विनय पिटक के महावग्ग के एक सन्दर्भ में मध्यमा प्रतिपदा के इस सिद्धान्त का प्रतिपादन बड़े ही सफल एवं रोचक ढंग से किया गया है, जो निम्नोक्त प्रकार है :—

सत्य का साक्षात्कार करने के उत्साह में सोणकोलिविस ने प्रव्रजित होकर इतना श्रम किया कि उसके पाँव फटकर लहुलुहान हो गये। बुद्ध को जब इसका पता चला तब उन्होंने उसे फटकारा एवं अत्यधिक तप की अनुपयोगिता की व्याख्या वीणा की उपमा देकर की। उन्होंने सोणकोलिविस से पूछा कि क्या वह उस वीणा को बजा सकेगा जिसके तार या तो अत्यधिक तने हों अथवा बहुत ही ढीले हों? सोणकोलिविस ने नकार दिया। फिर बुद्ध ने पूछा कि क्या वह उस वीणा को बजा सकेगा जिसके तार न तो अत्यधिक तने हों और न अत्यधिक ढीले हों, बल्कि समस्थिति में हों? इस बार सोणकोलिविस का उत्तर स्वीकारात्मक था। "इसी प्रकार" भगवान बुद्ध ने उद्घोष किया, "शक्ति का अत्यधिक उपयोग व्यग्रता उत्पन्न करता है और बहुत कम उपयोग अकर्मण्यता। अतएव, सोण! समभाव से श्रम करो, अपने इन्द्रियों का उपयोग समरूप में करो, इसे ही अपने श्रम का उद्देश्य बनाओ[2]

इस विवेचन से जो निष्कर्ष निकलता है उसके अनुसार विनय के नियमों की प्रकृति एवं प्रवृत्ति उपर्युक्त दोनों अतियों के मध्य का सन्तुलित होनी चाहिये। किन्तु विनय के नियमों की समीक्षा एक बिलकुल ही अलग धारणा बनाने के लिये विवश करती है। इनमें तपस्वियों के आत्म-दमन सम्बन्धी आचरण की गन्ध मालूम होती है। इस प्रसंग में बौद्ध-भिक्षुओं के जीवन-निर्वाह के मूल-साधन अर्थात् निस्सयों तथा उनमें सन्निहित धुतंगों का उल्लेख करना अप्रासंगिक न होगा। निस्सय चार हैं, जिनमें से प्रथम है पिण्डियालोपभोजन। इसके अनुसार भिक्षुओं को न केवल भोजन के लिये बल्कि इस प्रकार की सभी आवश्यकताओं के लिए भिक्षाटन पर ही निर्भर

१—महावग्ग, १-७-१३, पृष्ठ १३।

२—महावग्ग, ५-२-५, पृष्ठ २०२।

करना है। द्वितीय निस्सय पंसुकूल चीवर के अनुसार भिक्षुओं को अपने वस्त्र गांव की गलियों तथा श्मशानों से प्राप्त वस्त्रों से तैयार करना चाहिये। तीसरा निस्सय है रुक्खमूलसेनासन, जो भिक्षुओं को आवास के रूप में मात्र वृक्षों की जड़ों का उपयोग करने का आदेश देता है। चौथे निस्सय पूतिमुत्तभेसज्ज में भिक्षुओं के लिये दवा के रूप में केवल पेशाब के उपयोग का ही विधान है।[1]

कठोर भिक्षु-जीवन व्यतीत करनेवाले अधिकतर भिक्षुओं ने निस्सयों का पालन बड़ी निष्ठा के साथ की। इसके विपरीत आचरणवाले भिक्षुओं ने इसका विरोध भी डटकर किया। महावग्ग भिक्षुसंघ में नव प्रव्रजित एक ब्राह्मण का उल्लेख करता है जिसने भिक्षुओं द्वारा पिण्डाचार के लिये कहे जाने पर न केवल उनके आदेश की अवहेलना कर दी, बल्कि भोजनादि की आपूर्त्ति नहीं किये जाने पर संघ को त्याग चले जाने की धमकी भी दी—"नाहं, आवुसो, एतं कारणा पब्बजितो पिण्डाय चरिस्सामी.ति। सचे मे दस्सय भुञ्जिस्सामि, न चे में दस्सय विभमिस्सामी ति"।[2] फिर उपर्युक्त ग्रन्थ में ही एक ऐसे युवक का भी उल्लेख है जिसने भिक्षुओं से संघ में प्रवेश के लिये निवेदन किया। संघ में प्रवेश की अनुमति के पूर्व ही भिक्षुओं ने उसे निस्सयों से परिचित कराया। इस पर उसने प्रव्रज्या ग्रहण करने में असमर्थता प्रकट की, क्योंकि निस्सय उसे अग्राह्य प्रतीत हुआ—"सचे में भन्ते, पब्बजिते निस्सये अचिक्खे-य्याथ अभिरमेय्यामहं न दानाहं, भन्ते. पब्बजिस्सामि जेगुच्छा में निस्सया पटिकूला ति"।[3]

स्पष्ट ही निस्सय का मुख्य उद्देश्य अपरिग्रह था। इसमें किसी भी रूप में व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति का विधान नहीं था। संघ के प्रारम्भ से ही (व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति के रूप में) रुपये आदि के रखने का निषेध था, जो बहुत अरसे तक विवाद-बिन्दु बना रहा।[4] इसके अतिरिक्त निस्सय के नियम निश्चय ही अस्वास्थ्यकर एवं अग्राह्य थे। उदाहरण के लिये श्मशानादि में फेंके गये वस्त्रों के उपयोग आदि जैसे निस्सय-सम्बन्धी अनेक दूसरे नियमों को श्री इ० एम० रीड-जैसे प्राच्य-विद्या के विशिष्ट विद्वान् ने "अस्वच्छ नियमों" की संज्ञा दी है।[5]

१–महावग्ग, १-२२-७३, पृष्ठ ५५।

२–वही, १-२२-७३, पृष्ठ ५५

३–वही, १-२३, ७४, पृष्ठ ७४।

४-जातरुपरजतं का संग्रह विवाद के दस वस्तुओं में से एक था, जिसका निर्णय द्वितीय बौद्ध महासंगीति में किया गया। देखें चुल्लवग्ग, १२-२-१३, पृष्ठ ४२३।

५–प्रिमीटिभ बुद्धिज्म, पृष्ठ १३८–४२।

प्रारम्भिक बौद्धों के उपर्युक्त आचरण का जैन-मुनियों के आचरण से अत्यधिक साम्य है, क्योंकि वे न केवल अनागारिता का ही निष्ठापूर्वक पालन करते थे, बल्कि अत्यल्प भोजन एवं वस्त्र का उपयोग कर अपने शरीर को सुखाते भी थे'।[1] बाद में इन नियमों की कठोरता कम कर दी गई जान पड़ती है, क्योंकि विनय पिटक में निस्सयों के अपवाद के रूप में (अतिरेक लाभ) दान ग्रहण करने, निमंत्रण पर जाने, कई मंजिलों वाले भवन का निवास-स्थान के रूप में उपयोग करने आदि का भी उल्लेख है।[2] इतना होने पर भी भिक्षुओं के लिए "मात्र शरीर की सुरक्षाभार वस्त्र का उपयोग एवं जीवन धारण करने भर ही भोजन करने" का विधान है, जिसमें कि "वे जहाँ भी जाएँ, अपने उपयोग की वस्तुओं को अपने साथ लेते जाएं, जैसे कि पक्षी उड़कर जहाँ भी जाती है अपने पंख को साथ ले जाती है।[3] इस तरह भिक्षु अधिक-से-अधिक तीन चीवर, एक भिक्षापात्र, एक उस्तुरा, एक सूई, एक कायबन्धन और एक परिश्रावन (जल छानने का वस्त्र) ही अपने साथ रख सकता है।[4]

(ग) तपस्वियों के लिये छूट

वस्तुतः बौद्ध भिक्षु संघ आरम्भ में स्वधर्मत्यागी एवं धर्मभ्रष्ट लोगों का वह समुदाय था, जिसमें विभिन्न मतों एवं सम्प्रदाय से आये लोगों ने शरण ली। यद्यपि ऐसे लोगों ने अपने पुराने मत एवं सम्प्रदाय को त्याग नये मत को ग्रहण किया था, फिर भी उनमें से कुछ अपने पुराने मत का लोभ संवरण नहीं कर सके। अतः छवर्गीय भिक्षु, जिन्हें उनके आचरण के आधार पर लोकायत अथवा चार्वाक् सम्प्रदाय का प्रतिनिधि कहा जा सकता है, प्रायः विनय के नियमों की अवहेलना करने की ताक में रहा करते थे। उनका ऐसा आचरण मात्र इसलिए था कि वे सरल-विलासी जीवन की अपनी मांग बुद्ध के सामने रखने की साहस नहीं कर सके, क्योंकि इससे वे भलीभाँति अवगत थे कि उनका यह मन्तव्य सफलीभूत नहीं होगा। यहाँ पर यह भी द्रष्टव्य है कि छवर्गीय भिक्षुओं की यह अवहेलना कुछ और नहीं, बल्कि विनय के नियमों की कठोरता के विरुद्ध एक दबा विद्रोह था।

१—चुल्लवग्ग, १२-२-६ पृष्ठ ४२१।

२—महावग्ग, १-२२-७३, पृष्ठ ५५; १-६९-१२८, पृष्ठ १००; चुल्लवग्ग, ६-१२-३२ पृष्ठ २७२।

३—दीघ निकाय, भाग—१, २-५-६६, पृष्ठ ६२६-६३।

४—समन्तपासादिका, भाग-१ पृष्ठ २३३।

इसके ठीक विपरीत तपस्वियों का वह समूह था जिनकी अस्थियों पर बौद्ध-संघ की नींव खड़ी की गई थी। बौद्ध-संघ में सर्वप्रथम प्रवेश पानेवाले पंचवर्गीय भिक्षु कोई और नहीं, बल्कि ब्राह्मण धर्मानुयायी तपस्वी थे। इसी प्रकार काश्यप भ्राता और बहुत सारे दूसरे भिक्षु भी ब्राह्मण धर्मानुयायी तपस्वी ही थे। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि वे अल्पसंख्यक थे, फिर भी उनका संघ पर आधिपत्य था। एक बार एक भिक्षु ने, जो संभवतया बौद्ध-संघ में प्रवेश के पूर्व या तो तपस्वी रहा होगा अथवा तप से प्रभावित, बुद्ध से संघ के लिए नग्नता को अनिवार्य बनाने की अनुशंसा की।[1] तत्पश्चात् जैनधर्म में श्रद्धालु भगवान बुद्ध के चचेरे भाई देवदत्त इसमें अग्रणी हुए। बड़े साहस के साथ देवदत्त ने बुद्ध से निवेदन किया कि (१) अरण्य-वास, (२) मात्र भिक्षाटन से प्राप्त भोजन से जीवन-यापन, (३) मात्र श्मशान से प्राप्त चीथड़ों से बने चीवर का उपयोग, (४) वृक्ष-मूल में आवास एवं (५) निरामिष आहार—इन पाँच नियमों को संघ के लिए अनिवार्य बना दिया जाय।[2] उनकी यह मांग पूरी नहीं होने जा रही है— ऐसा आभास होते ही, उसने बुद्ध के उपदेश को विलासोन्मुख बताकर बौद्ध-संघ में भेद उत्पन्न कर दिया।[3] इससे बुद्ध को यह एहसास हुआ कि यह कोई व्यक्तिगत विचार नहीं, बल्कि एक "विशाल एवं प्रभावशाली अल्पसंख्यकों"[4] की आवाज है। अतः घोर तपाचरण की ओर दृढ़ झुकाव रखनेवाले भिक्षुओं ने बुद्ध को ऐसी प्रवृत्तिवाले भिक्षुओं के लिए छूट देने को बाध्य किया।

---

१ "भगवा, भन्ते, अनेकपरियायेन अप्पिच्छस्स सन्तुट्ठस्स सल्लेखस्स धुतस्स पासादिकस्स अपचयस्स विरियारम्भस्स वण्णवादी। इदं भन्ते नग्गियं अनेकपरियायेन अप्पिच्छताय सन्तुट्ठिताय सल्लेखाय धुतताय पासादिकताय अपचयाय विरियारम्भाय संवत्तति। साधु, भन्ते, भगवा भिक्खूनं नग्गियं अनुजानातू" ति। महावग्ग ८, २४, ४५, पृष्ठ ३१९–२०।

२ चुल्लवग्ग, ७, ९, १४ पृष्ठ २९७–३००। बुद्धने देवदत्त की भर्त्सना खेलासक (मिथ्या आजीव से जीवन यापन करनेवाला) कह कर की थी। अतः देवदत्त ने सम्भवतः यह मांग उसकी प्रतिक्रियास्वरूप की थी। देखें, चुल्लवग्ग, ७-३-६, पृष्ठ २८६,–८७; ७–४–७, पृष्ठ २८८।

३ समणो पन गोतमो बाहुल्लिको बाहुल्लाय चेतेनि। चुल्लवग्ग, ७–९–१४, पृष्ठ २९९।

४ डायलोग्स ऑफ दी बुद्ध. भाग–१, पृष्ठ, २१८–१९।

यद्यपि न तो हम बुद्ध को देवदत्त की उपरोक्त मांग के स्थान पर किसी दूसरे सिद्धान्त अथवा नियम का प्रज्ञापन करते पाते हैं और न तो धुतंग का ही कोई स्पष्ट उल्लेख निकायों अथवा विनय के ग्रन्थों में मिलता है, फिर भी बहुत संभव है कि धुतंगों का विधान घोर तपस्या में विश्वास रखनेवाले भिक्षुओं के लिए छूट के रूप में किया गया। ऐसी उक्ति के कारण हैं वह यह कि देवदत्त के प्रस्ताव[1] भी भोजन, वस्त्र एवं आवास से सम्बन्धित हैं :—

१—भोजन :

(क) पिण्डपातिका अस्सु-भिक्षु भोजन के लिए पिण्डपात पर ही निर्भर करें,

(ख) मच्छमंसं न खादेय्युं—भिक्षु सर्वथा निरामिष आहारी हों,

२—वस्त्र :

(ग) पंसुकूलिका अस्सु—भिक्षु पांशुकूलिक हों, एवं

(घ) आरञ्ञका-अस्सु—भिक्षु आरण्यवासी हों,

३—आवास :

(ङ) रुक्खमूलिका अस्सु—भिक्षु वृक्ष-मूलिक हों।

धुतंग[2] जिसकी संख्या १३ है, भी भिक्षुजीवन के इन्हीं तीन आवश्यकताओं से सम्बन्धित विशेष व्रत हैं, यथा :—

१—भोजन :

(क) पिण्डपातिकङ्गं—भिक्षाटन में प्राप्त भोजन से ही जीवन-यापन करना,

(ख) सपदानचारिकङ्गं—बिना किसी घर को छोड़े भिक्षा मांगना,

(ग) एकासनिकङ्गं—एक ही आसन में भोजन करना,

(घ) पत्तपिण्डिकङ्गं—एक ही पात्र से भोजन करना,

(ङ) खलुपच्छाभत्तिकङ्गं—एक बार भोजन समाप्त कर लेने के बाद फिर परोसन नहीं लेना,

२—वस्त्र :

(च) पंसुकूलिकङ्गं—मात्र श्मशान से प्राप्त वस्त्र का ही उपयोग करना,

(छ) तेचीवरिकङ्गं—मात्र तीन चीवरों का ही उपयोग करना, एवं

३—आवास :

(ज) आरञ्ञिकङ्गं—आरण्यवासी होना,

(झ) रुक्खमूलिकङ्गं—वृक्ष-मूलिक होना,

१—चुल्लवग्ग, ७-६-१४, पृष्ठ २७९—३००।

२—देखें विसुद्धिमग्ग, धुतङ्गनिद्देसो, मिलिन्दपञ्हो, धुतङ्ग कथा।

(ञ) अब्भोकासिकङ्ग—खुले आकाश में वास करना,

(ट) सोसानिकङ्ग—श्मशानवासी होना,

(ठ) यथासन्थतिकङ्ग—उपलब्ध जिस किसी भी आसन अथवा विस्तर का ही उपयोग करना,

(ड) नेसज्जिकङ्ग—बैठकर ही रात बिताना, सोकर नहीं।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट है कि देवदत्त के प्रस्तावों और धुतंगों में अत्यन्त एकरूपता है। इसी प्रकार निस्सय भी, भिक्षु-जीवन की मुख्य तीन आवश्यकताएँ—भोजन, वस्त्र एवं आवास पर आधारित हैं :—

१—भोजन :

(क) पिण्डियालोप भोजन-मात्र भिक्षा में प्राप्त भोजन से ही जीवन-यापन,—

(ख) पूतिमुत्त भेसज्ज-मुत्रादि का ही दवा के रूप में उपयोग करना ;

२—वस्त्र :

(ग) पंसुकूल चीवर—मात्र पांशुकूलिक चीवर का ही उपयोग; एव

३—आवास :

(घ) रुक्खमूलसेनासन—वृक्ष की जड़ का ही आवास के रूप में प्रयोग करना। अतएव देवदत्त के प्रस्तावों एवं धुतंगों का निस्सयों से मौलिक सादृश्य है। यदि ऐसी बात है तब फिर क्या कारण हुआ जिसने बुद्ध को देवदत्त के निवेदन को ठुकराने के लिए विवश किया, यह प्रश्न सहज ही हमारे समक्ष उपस्थित होता है। देवदत्त के निवेदन को स्वीकार करने में जो सबसे बड़ी बाधा बुद्ध के सामने आई होगी वह शायद यह कि ऐसा करना निस्सयों की कठोरता को फिर से अपनाना होता, जिसे अतिरेक लाभ की अनुमति देकर पहले ही समाप्त की जा चुकी थी। किन्तु देवदत्त एवं उसके अनुयायियों द्वारा किए गये प्रबल विरोध ने बुद्ध को घोर तपस्या में विश्वास रखने वाले भिक्षुओं के लिए धुतंगों के आंशिक अभ्यास की अनुमति प्रदान करने को विवश किया होगा।

बौद्ध-भिक्षु-संघ के ये सारे नियम और (दूसरे बहुत से) विधान का बुद्ध के पूर्व अन्यान्य मतों और सम्प्रदायों में प्रचलित नियमों से या तो एकरूपता है या नहीं तो अत्यन्त सादृश्य हैं। फिर भी इससे उन्हें यदि धर्मों का प्रतिरूप नहीं कहा जा सकता। यह सत्य है कि बुद्ध ने तत्कालीन उपलब्ध विधानों एवं आचरणों का अनुकरण अपने संघ के लिए किया, पर साथ ही यह भी सत्य है कि जो कुछ भी अनुकरण उन्होंने किया, वह मात्र प्रयोग के रूप में। यही कारण है कि बौद्ध-संघ के अधिकतर विधानों में

उद्भव (evolution), समायोजन (adjustment) एवं स्वीकरण (adoption) अथवा अन्त-करण (abrogation) की ये तीन प्रक्रियाएँ स्पष्टरूप में परिलक्षित होती हैं। उदाहरणार्थ उपर्युक्त निस्सय के नियमों का पालन बौद्ध-संघ ने उसी कठोरता के साथ आरम्भ किया जिस रूप में वे अन्य मतावलम्बियों द्वारा. पालन किये जा रहे थे। किन्तु उग्रता का भान होते ही उसे कम कर दिया गया। बौद्ध-संघ के पूरे विधान में उग्र से कम उग्र की यह प्रवृत्ति आद्योपान्त देखी जा सकती है। अतः बौद्ध-विनय के उद्भव का इतिहास यतिधर्मों की अतिउग्र प्रवृत्ति में सुधार का इतिहास है, जिसे शास्त्र ने "यदि संघ चाहे तो सूक्ष्म एवं लघु नियमों की समाप्ति उनके मरणोपरान्त भी कर सकता है"—यह अनुमति देकर सुधार का यह पथ सदैव के लिए प्रशस्त कर दिया है।

आर्यसन्धिनिर्मोचन नाम महायान सूत्र

(सातवाँ परिच्छेद का तिब्बती-हिन्दी अनुवाद)

अनुवादक,

रिगजिन लुण्डुब लामा

तब बोधिसत्व परमार्थ समुद्गत ने भगवान से यह कहा—"भगवन ! जब मैं यहाँ एकान्त में बैठा था तब मेरे चित्त में यह परिकल्प उत्पन्न हुआ कि भगवान् ने अनेक प्रकार से स्कन्धों[1] के स्वलक्षण के विषय में, उनकी उत्पत्ति के लक्षण के विषय में, विनाश के लक्षण के विषय में, प्रहाण के विषय में और परिज्ञान के विषय में बताया है। स्कन्धों की ही भाँति आयतनों,[2] प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद[3] और आहारों[4] के विषय में भी बताया है।

---

१ फुङ-पो-ल्ङ = पाँच स्कन्ध—(१) ग्.सुगस्-किय-फुङ-पो = रूप-स्कन्ध (२) छोर० = वेदना० (३) ऽडु-शेस्० = संज्ञा० (४) ऽडु-ब्येद० = संस्कार० और (५) नॅम-शेस्० = विज्ञान।

२ स्क्ये-म्छॅद-द्रुग = षडायतन—(१) मिग-गि-स्क्ये-म्छेद = चक्षु आयतन (२) नॅ-वडि० = श्रोत्र० (३) स्नडि० = घ्राण० (४) ल्चेडि० = जिह्वा० (५) लुस्-क्यि० = काय० और (६) यिद-क्यि० = मन०। ग्.सुगस-ल-सोगस्-प-फ्यिडि-स्क्ये-म्छेद-द्रुग-स्व्यर-वस्-ब्चु-ग्ञिस् = रूप आदि छह बाह्य आयतनों के जोड़ने से १२ आयतन होते हैं।

३ तॅन-चिङ-ऽब्रेल-ऽब्युङ = प्रतीत्य समुत्पाद (= कार्यकारण नियम से सभी वस्तुओं की उत्पत्ति)। स्रिद-पडि-यन-लग-ब्चु-ग्ञिस-क्यङ-ब्य-स्ते। म-रिग-प-ल-सोगस्-पडो = द्वादश भवांग भी कहते हैं। यथा—अविद्या आदि।

४ सस्-ब्शि = चार आहार—(१) खम-ग्यि-सस् = कवलिकार आहार (२) रेग-पडि-सस् = स्पर्शाहार (३) यिद-ल-सेमस्-पडि-सस् = मनसंचेतनाहार और (४) नॅम-पर-शेस्-पडि-सस् = विज्ञानाहार।

बताया है। भगवान ने अनेक प्रकार से सत्यों[1] के लक्षण के विषय में, उनके परिज्ञान के विषय में, उनके प्रहाण के विषय में, उनके साक्षात्कार के विषय में और उनकी भावना के विषय में भी बताया है। भगवान ने अनेक प्रकार से धातुओं[2] के स्वलक्षण (=स्वभाव) के विषय में, विभिन्न धातुओं के विषय में, अनेक धातुओं के विषय में, उनके प्रहाण और परिज्ञान के विषय में बताया है। भगवान ने अनेक प्रकार से स्मृत्युपस्थान[3] के स्वलक्षण के विषय में, उनके विपक्ष और प्रतिपक्ष के विषय में, उनकी भावना के विषय में, अनुत्पन्न की उत्पत्ति और उत्पन्न की स्थिति के विषय में, उनके अविनाश के विषय में, उनकी पुनः पुनः उत्पत्ति के विषय में और वृद्धि-विरूढ़ि के विषय में भी बताया है। स्मृत्युपस्थानों की भाँति सम्यक् प्रहाणों[4]

---

१ ऽफगस्-पऽि-ब्देन-प-ब्शि = चार आर्यसत्य—(१) स्दुग-ब्स्ङल-ब्देन-प = दुःख-सत्य (२) स्दुग-ब्स्ङल-कुन-ऽब्युङ० = दुःख-समुदय० (३) स्दुग-ब्स्ङल ऽगोग-प० = दुःख-निरोध० और (४) स्दुग-ब्स्ङल ऽगोग-पर-ऽग्रो-वऽि-लम० = दुःख-निरोधगामिनी प्रतिपद्०।

२ खमस्-बचो-ब्र्ग्यंद = अठारह धातुएं। मिग-गि-खमस्-ल-सोगस्-प नस्-यिद-क्यि-नंम-पर-शेष्-पऽि-खमस्-बर-दु-खमस्-बचो-बग्यंद-दो = चक्षुर्धातु से लेकर मनोविज्ञान-धातु तक अष्टादश धातुएं हैं। यङ-सऽि-खमस्-ल-सोगस्-प-द्रुग-गो = फिर पृथ्वी-धातु आदि छह धातुएं हैं।

३ द्रन-प-ञे-वर-ब्शग-प-ब्शि = चार स्मृत्युपस्थान—(१) लुस्-द्रन-प-ञे-वर-ब्शग-प = काया में कायानुपश्यी (२) छोर-व-द्रन-प-ञे-वर-ब्शग-प = वेदना में वेदनानुपश्यी (३) सेमस्-द्रन-प-ञे-वर-ब्शग-प = चित्त में चित्तानुपश्यी और (४) छोस्-द्रन-प-ञे-वर-ब्शग-प = धर्म में धर्मानुपश्यी।

४ यङ-दग-पर-स्पोङ-व-ब्शि = चार सम्यक् प्रहाण—(१) स्दिग-प-मि-द्गे-वऽि-छोस्-म-स्क्येस्-प-नंमस्-मि-स्क्येद पऽि-फियर-ऽदुन-प-ब्स्क्येद-प = अनुत्पन्न पापमय अकुशल धर्मों को न उत्पन्न होने देने के लिए रुचि उत्पन्न करना, (२) स्दिग-प-मि-द्गे-वऽि-छोस्-स्क्येस्-प-नंमस्-स्पोङ-वऽि-फियर० = उत्पन्न पापमय अकुशल धर्मों के प्रहाण के लिए०, (३) द्गे-वऽि-छोस्-म-स्क्येस्-प-नंमस्-ब्स्क्येद-पऽि० = अनुत्पन्न कुशल धर्मों की उत्पत्ति के लिए० और (४) द्गे-वऽि-छोस्-स्क्येस्-प-नंमस्-ग्नस्-प-दङ-फियर-शिङ-ऽब्युङ-व-दङ-ञमस्-पर-मि-ऽग्युर-व-दङ-योङस्-सु-जोंगस्-पर-ब्य-वऽि० उत्पन्न कुशल धर्मों की स्थिति के लिए, पुनः पुनः उत्पत्ति के लिए०

के विषय में, ऋद्धिपादों[1] के विषय में, इन्द्रियों[2] के विषय में, बलों[3] के विषय में और बोध्यंगों[4] के विषय में भी बताया है। भगवान ने अनेक प्रकार से आर्य अष्टांगिक मार्ग[5] के स्वलक्षण के विषय में बताया है। उनके विपक्ष और

---

१ अविनाश के लिए और परिपूर्ण के लिए०। र्ज़ु-ऽफ्रुल-ग्यि-कंङ-प-ब्शि = चार ऋद्धिपाद—(१) ऽदुन-पऽि-तिङ-ङे-ऽज़िन-स्गोङ-वऽि-ऽदु-ब्येद-दङ-ल्दन-पऽि०-=छन्द-समाधि-प्रहाण-संस्कार-युक्त०, (२) सेमस्-ग्यि-तिङ-ङे-ऽजिन-स्पोङ-वऽि-ऽदु-ब्येद-दङ-ल्दन-पऽि० = चित्त-समाधि-प्रहाण-संस्कार०, (३) ब्र्चोंन-ऽग्रुस्-क्यि-तिङ-ङे-ऽजिन-स्पोङ-वऽि-ऽदु-ब्येद-दङ-ल्दन-पऽि० = वीर्य-समाधि-प्रहाण-संस्कार युक्त० और (४) द्प्योद-पऽि-तिङ-ङे-ऽजिन-स्पोङ-वऽि-ऽदु-ब्येद-दङ-ल्दन-पऽि = मीमांसा-समाधि-प्रहाण-संस्कार युक्त०।

२ द्वङ-पो-ल्ङ = पांच, इन्द्रियाँ—(१) दद-पऽि-द्वङ-पो = श्रद्धा इन्द्रिय, (२) ब्र्चोंन ऽग्रुस्-क्यि० = वीर्य०, (३) द्रन-पऽि० = स्मृति०, (४) तिङ-ङे-ऽजिन-ग्यि० = समाधि० और (५) शेस्-रब-क्यि = प्रज्ञा०।

३ स्तोबस्-ल्ङ = बल पांच हैं—(१) दद-पऽि-स्तोबस् = श्रद्धा-बल (२) ब्र्चोंन-ऽग्रुस् क्यि-स्तोबस् = वीर्य-बल, (३) द्रन-पऽि० = स्मृति०, (४) तिङ-ङे-ऽजिन-ग्यि० = समाधि० और (५) शेस्-रब-क्यि० = प्रज्ञा०।

४ ब्यङ-छुब-क्यि-यन-लग-ब्दुन = सात बोध्यंग हैं—(१) द्रन-प-यङ-दग-ब्यङ-छुब-क्यि-यन-लग = स्मृति सम्बोध्यंग, (२) छोस्-नंम-पर-ऽब्येद-प० = धर्मप्रविचय०, (३) ब्र्चोंन-ऽग्रुस्० = वीर्य०. (४) द्गऽ-व० = प्रीति०, (५) शिन-तु-स्ब्यङस्-प० = प्रश्रब्धि०,-(६) तिङ-ङे-ऽजिन० = समाधि० और (७) ब्तङ-स्नोमस्० = उपेक्षा०।

५ ऽफगस्-लम-यन-लग-ब्र्ग्यंद = आर्य अष्टांगिक मार्ग—(१) यङ-दग-पऽि-ल्त-व = सम्यक्-दृष्टि, (२) यङ-दग-पऽि-र्तोग-प = सम्यक्-संकल्प, (३) यङ-दग-पऽि-ङग = सम्यक्-वचन, (४) यङ-दग-पऽि-लस्-क्यि-म्थऽ = सम्यक्-कर्मान्त, (५) यङ-दग-पऽि-ऽछो-व = सम्यक्-आजीव, (६) यङ-दग-पऽि-र्चोल-व = सम्यक्-व्यायाम, (७) यङ-दग-पऽि-द्रन-प = सम्यक्-स्मृति और (८) यङ-दग-पऽि-तिङ-ङे-ऽजिन = सम्यक्-समाधि।

प्रतिपक्ष के विषय में, उनकी भावना के विषय में, अनुत्पन्न की उत्पत्ति के विषय में, उत्पन्न की स्थिति के विषय में, उनके अविनाश और पुनः पुनः उत्पत्ति के विषय में, वृद्धि-आयत के विषय में बताया है। भगवान ने बताया है कि सर्वधर्म निःस्वभाव, सर्वधर्म अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त और प्रकृति परिनिर्वृत है। मेरे चित्त में यह परिकल्प उत्पन्न हुआ कि भगवान ने किस आशय से बताया है कि सर्वधर्म निःस्वभाव, अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त और प्रकृति परिनिर्वृत हैं। भगवान ने किस आशय से सर्वधर्म निःस्वभाव, सर्वधर्म अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त और प्रकृति परिनिर्वृत बताया है इनके अर्थ के विषय में मैं भगवान से परिपृच्छा करता हूँ। ऐसा कहने पर भगवान ने परमार्थ समुद्गत से यह कहा—"साधु, परमार्थ समुद्गत! तुम्हारे चित्त में ठीक से कुशल परिकल्प जो उत्पन्न हुआ है उसके लिये साधु! तुमने, परमार्थ समुद्गत! बहुजन हिताय, बहुजन सुखाय, लोक पर अनुकम्पा के लिये, देव और मनुष्य सहित प्रजा के अर्थ के लिए, हितके लिए और सुख के लिए तथागत से इस विषय में परिपृच्छा करने की सोची है उसके लिए साधु! इसलिए परमार्थ समुद्गत! ठीक से मन लगाकर सुनो। मैंने किस आशय से सर्वधर्म निःस्वभाव है, सर्वधर्म अनुत्पन्न है, अनिरुद्ध है, आदिशान्त और प्रकृति-परिनिर्वृत है, कहा है, इस विषय में मैं तुम्हें बताता हूँ। मैंने परमार्थ समुद्गत! तीन प्रकार से सर्वधर्म निःस्वभाव बताया है। जैसे, लक्षण-निःस्वभाव उत्पत्ति-निःस्वभाव और परमार्थ-निःस्वभाव। परमार्थ समुद्गत! धर्मों की लक्षण निःस्वभावता क्या है? जो परिकल्पित लक्षण[1] है वह धर्मों की लक्षण निःस्वभावता है। सो किस हेतु? इसलिए कि वह उसके व्यवहार और संकेत के लिए व्यवस्थापित लक्षण है, पर स्वलक्षण से वह अविद्यमान है। इसलिए उसे लक्षण निःस्वभावता कहते हैं। परमार्थ समुद्गत! धर्मों की उत्पत्ति की निःस्वभावता क्या है? धर्मों की उत्पत्ति की निःस्वभावता है धर्मों का परतन्त्रलक्षण।[2] सो किस हेतु? इसलिए कि उसकी उत्पत्ति अन्य प्रत्यय के बल पर होती है, पर स्वतः उसकी उत्पत्ति

१ कुन-ब्तंगस-पऽि-म्छन-बिद = परिकल्पितलक्षण = the Imaginary aspet

२ ग्शन-ग्यि-द्वङ-गि-म्छन-बिद = परतन्त्रलक्षण = the Relative or conditioned aspet.

नहीं होती। इसलिए उसे उत्पत्ति की निःस्वभावता कहते हैं। परमार्थ समुद्गत! धर्मों की परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता क्या है? जो प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्न धर्म है वह उसकी उत्पत्ति-निःस्वभावता के कारण निःस्वभाव धर्म है। इसलिए परमार्थ भी निःस्वभाव है। सो किस हेतु? परमार्थ समुद्गत! धर्मों का जो विशुद्ध आलम्बन है उसे मैं परमार्थ कहता हूँ। और, जो परतन्त्रलक्षण है वह विशुद्ध आलम्बन नहीं है। इसलिए उसे परमार्थ निःस्वभावता कहते हैं। और भी परमार्थ समुद्गत! धर्मों का जो परिनिष्पन्न लक्षण है[1] उसे भी परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता कहते हैं। सो किस हेतु? इसलिए कि परमार्थ समुद्गत! धर्मों का जो धर्मनैरात्म्य है उसे धर्मों की निःस्वभावता कहते हैं। वही परमार्थ है। जो परमार्थ है वह सर्वधर्म-निःस्वभावता से विचित होता है। अतः उसे परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता कहते हैं। जैसे ख-पुष्प है वैसे ही धर्मों की लक्षण-निःस्वभावता समझनी चाहिए। जैसे, परमार्थ समुद्गत! मायाकृत है वैसे ही उत्पत्ति-निःस्वभावता भी समझनी चाहिए। जैसे परमार्थ समुद्गत! आकाश आकार की निःस्वभावता से विचित होता है और वह सर्वत्रग है वैसे ही परमार्थ की निःस्वभावता से धर्मनैरात्म्य का विचय होना और उसे सर्वत्रग समझना चाहिए। मैंने हे परमार्थसमुद्गत! इन तीन प्रकार की निःस्वभावताओं के आशय से सर्वधर्म-निःस्वभाव बताया है। मैंने हे परमार्थसमुद्गत! लक्षण-निःस्वभावता के आशय से सर्वधर्म अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध आदिशान्त और प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत बताया है। सो किस हेतु? इसलिए कि परमार्थसमुद्गत! इस प्रकार जो धर्म स्वलक्षण से (स्वभावतः) असत् है वह अनुत्पन्न है। जो अनुत्पन्न है वह अनिरुद्ध है। जो अनुत्पन्न और अनिरुद्ध है वह आदिशान्त है। जो आदिशान्त है वह प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत है। जो प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत है वह अपरिनिर्वृतव्य है। इसलिए लक्षण-निःस्वभावता के आशय से मैंने सर्वधर्म अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त और प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत बताया है। हे परमार्थ-समुद्गत! परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता का निश्चय धर्मनैरात्म्य से होने के आशय से मैंने सर्वधर्म अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त और प्रकृति परिनिर्वृत बताया है। सो किस हेतु? इसलिए कि परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता का निश्चय धर्मनैरात्म्य से होता है और वह नित्यकाल में और शाश्वतकाल में अवस्थित रहता ही है। वह धर्मों की धर्मता, असंस्कृत और सर्व क्लेश-रहित है। जो नित्यकाल और शाश्वतकाल में धर्मता से अवस्थित रहता है और असंस्कृत है। वह असंस्कृत (= अकृत) होने से अनुत्पन्न और

---

१ योङ्स-सु-ग्रुब-प = परिनिष्पन्न = the Absolute

अनिरुद्ध है। और वह सर्वक्लेश-रहित होने से आदिशान्त और प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत है। इसलिए परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता का निश्चय धर्मनैरात्म्य से होने के आशय से मैंने सर्व-धर्म अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त और प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत बताया है। मैं हे परमार्थसमुद्गत ! सत्वधातु (=जीवलोक) में सत्वों द्वारा परिकल्पित स्वभाव को भिन्नस्वभाव देखता हूँ। परतन्त्रस्वभाव और परिनिष्पन्नस्वभाव भी भिन्नस्वभाव (=स्वभाव से भिन्न) देखता हूँ। इसलिए निःस्वभावता का विचय त्रिविध से (=तीन प्रकार से) होता नहीं है। सत्वों द्वारा परतन्त्र स्वभाव और परिनिष्पन्न-स्वभाव को परिकल्पितस्वभावलक्षण व्यवहार प्रज्ञापन किया जाता है, की संज्ञा दी जाती है, जैसे-जैसे व्यवहार प्रज्ञापित किया जाता है वैसे-वैसे व्यवहार प्रज्ञप्त्यापरिवासितचित्त व्यवहार प्रज्ञप्त्यनुबन्ध या व्यवहार प्रज्ञप्त्यनुशय से परतन्त्र और परिनिष्पन्न स्वभाव को परिकल्पित स्वभावलक्षण के रूप में अभिनिवेश करता है। जैसे-जैसे अभिनिविष्ट होता है वैसे ही वैसे परतन्त्रस्वभाव को परिकल्पित स्वभाव में अभिनिविष्ट होने के उस हेतु और उस कारण से उत्तरकाल में परतन्त्रस्वभाव की उपपत्ति होती है। इस कारण से क्लेश-संक्लेश से भी संक्लिष्ट होता है, कर्म-संक्लेश और उत्पत्ति-संक्लेश से भी संक्लिष्ट होता है। वह चिरकाल तक या तो नरक में या तिर्यग में, प्रेतों में या देवताओं में, या असुरों में या मनुष्यों में—सर्वत्र धावन करते हुए संसरण करता है और वह संसार से पार करने में असमर्थ रहता है। जिन सत्त्वों ने हे परमार्थ-समुद्गत ! पहले से ही कुशलमूल का उत्पाद नहीं किया हो, आवरणों की परिशुद्धि नहीं की हो, जिनका चित्त परिपक्व नहीं हुआ हो, बहुल अधिमुक्ति के हो, जिन्होंने पुण्य और ज्ञान सम्भारों का ठीक से संचय नहीं किया हो उन्हें मैं उत्पत्ति-निःस्वभावता से आरम्भ कर धर्मोपदेश करता हूँ। वे उस धर्मोपदेश का श्रवण कर प्रतीत्य-समुत्पाद संबंधी संस्कारों को अनित्य जानते हैं, अदृढ़ जानते हैं, अविश्वसनीय जानते हैं और परिणामधर्म जानते हैं। जानकर वे सभी सस्कारों से द्वेष करते हैं और उनसे खिन्न होते हैं। वे द्विष्ट और उद्विग्न हो पाप से विरत रहते हैं। वे पाप न कर पुण्य का आसेवन करते हैं। पुण्य के आसेवन से वे अनुत्पन्न कुशलमूलों को उत्पन्न करते हैं, अपरिशुद्ध आवरणों की परिशुद्धि करते हैं, अपरिपक्व-चित्त को परिपक्व करते हैं। उस कारण से वे बहुलअधिमुक्ति के हो पुण्य और ज्ञान सम्भारों का संचय करते हैं। यद्यपि वे इस प्रकार कुशलमूल की उत्पत्ति से लेकर पुण्य-सम्भार और ज्ञान-सम्भार तक परिपूर्ण करते हैं; पर वे उस उत्पत्ति-निःस्वभावता लक्षण-निःस्वभावता और परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता को ठीक से नहीं जानते है। इसलिए वे सभी

संस्कारों से पूर्णरूप से उद्विग्न नहीं होते, पूर्णरूप से वीतराग नहीं होते, पूर्णरूपेण विमुक्त नहीं होते। वे क्लेश-संक्लेश से भी मुक्त नहीं होते, कर्म-संक्लेश से भी मुक्त नहीं होते, उत्पत्ति-संक्लेश से भी विमुक्त नहीं होते। इसलिए तथागत पुनः लक्षण-निःस्वभावता से आरम्भ कर उन्हें सभी संस्कारों से उद्विग्न होने के लिए, वीतराग होने के लिए, विमुक्त होने के लिए, क्लेश-संक्लेश से पूर्णरूप से पार होने के लिए, कर्म-संक्लेश से पूर्णरूपेण पार होने के लिए, उत्पत्ति-संक्लेश से पूर्णरूप से पार होने के लिए धर्मोपदेश करते हैं। वे उस धर्मोपदेश को सुन परतन्त्र-स्वभाव को परिकल्पित-स्वभाव में अनभिनिविष्ट होते हैं। फलस्वरूप वे उत्पत्ति-निःस्वभावता को लक्षण-निःस्वभावता एवं परमार्थ-निस्वभावता में रुचि रखते हैं। वे उनका प्रविचय करते हैं और जैसा है वैसा ही अवबोध करते हैं। जैसे-व्यवहारप्रज्ञप्त्यापरिवासितचित्त व्यवहार-प्रज्ञप्ति से अनुबन्ध नहीं रहता। वे व्यवहारप्रज्ञप्त्यनुशय रहित चित्त के होने से परतन्त्रलक्षण को ही जीवन में जानने का बल उत्पन्न करते हैं और जीवनान्तर में चित्तसन्तति का पूर्ण विच्छेद द्वारा निरोध करते हैं। उस कारण से वे सभी संस्कारों से पूर्णरूप से खिन्न होते हैं, पूर्णरूपेण वीतराग होते हैं और पूर्णरूपेण विमुक्त होते हैं। वे क्लेश-संक्लेश से, कर्म-संक्लेश से, उत्पत्ति-संक्लेश से भी विमुक्त हो जाते हैं। जो सत्व हे परमार्थसमुद्गत ! श्रावक गोत्र के होते हैं वे भी इस मार्ग और इस प्रतिपत्ति द्वारा अनुत्तरयोगक्षेम निर्वाण को प्राप्त होते हैं। और जो सत्व प्रत्येक-बुद्धयान गोत्र के और तथागत गोत्र के होते हैं वे भी इस मार्ग और इस प्रतिपत्ति के द्वारा अनुत्तरयोगक्षेम निर्वाण को प्राप्त होते हैं। इसलिए यह मार्ग श्रावकों, प्रत्येक-बुद्धों और बोधिसत्वों का एकमात्र विशुद्ध मार्ग है, पर दूसरा कोई मार्ग नहीं। इसलिए मैंने इस आशय से एक-यान का उपदेश किया है। सत्त्वधातु में प्रकृति मृद्विन्द्रिय, मध्येन्द्रिय और तीक्ष्णेन्द्रिय के नानागोत्र के सत्वों का भी अभाव नहीं है। जो पुद्गल हे परमार्थ समुद्गत ! श्रावक-गोत्रक शमथैकयानिक का है वह सभी बुद्धों के उद्योगशील रहने पर भी बोधिमण्ड में स्थापित हो, अनुत्तरसम्यक्-सम्बोधि प्राप्त करने में असमर्थ रहता है। सो किस हेतु ? इसलिए कि वह अत्यन्त करुणा-रहित और दुःख से भयभीत रहने के कारण स्वभावतः नीच गोत्र का होता है। जैसे वह करुणाविहीन रहता है वैसे ही सत्वार्थ सम्पादन से अत्यन्त विमुख रहता है। जैसे दुःख से अत्यन्त भयभीत रहता है वैसे ही सभी संस्कार-अभिसंस्कारों से अत्यन्त निर्वृत्त रहता है। जो सत्वार्थक्रिया में अत्यन्त निर्वृत्त और सभी संस्कार-अभिसंस्कारों से निर्वृत्त रहता है उसे मैंने अनुत्तर सम्यक् सम्बोधि का अधिकारी नहीं बताया है। इसलिए इसे शमथैक-यानिक कहते हैं। जो श्रावक बोधिसत्व में परिवर्तित होता है उसे मैं पर्याय से बोधिसत्व

ही घोषित करता हूँ। क्योंकि वह इस प्रकार क्लेशावरण से विमुक्त हो तथागतों द्वारा प्रेरित किये जाने पर ज्ञेयावरण से भी विमुक्त-चित्तहो जाता है। वह पहले स्वार्थ योग से क्लेशावरण से विमुक्त होता है। इसलिए तथागत उसको श्रावकगोत्रक कहते हैं। हे परमार्थसमुद्गत! मेरे सुभाषित धर्म विनय, सुप्रणीत, विशुद्धाशय की देशना करनेवाले, सुप्रवेदित धर्म के प्रति सत्वों की रुचि का भी क्रम होता है। तथागत, हे परमार्थ-समुद्गत! इन त्रिविध निःस्वभावताओं के आशय से नेयार्थ-सूत्र के व्याख्यान द्वारा सर्वधर्म निःस्वभाव, सर्वधर्म अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त, प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत्त का धर्मोपदेश करते हैं। इसमें वे सत्व जिन्होंने वृहत् कुशलमूल उत्पन्न किया है, आवरणों की परिशुद्धि की है, जिनका चित्तपरिपाक है, बहुल अधिमुक्ति के हैं और वृहत् पुण्य और ज्ञान-संभारों का संचय किया है वे इस धर्म का श्रवण करने से मेरे संधायवचन को ठीक-ठीक जानते हैं। वे उस धर्म को धर्म जानते हैं। उस अर्थ को भी प्रज्ञा द्वारा ठीक-ठीक जानते हैं। उस अवबोध के भावित होने पर वे शीघ्र ही पर्यवसान को प्राप्त होते हैं। वे मेरे प्रति भी यह कह कर श्रद्धा प्राप्त करते हैं—"अहो! वे भगवान सम्यक् सम्बुद्ध हैं! वे सभी धर्मों में अभिसम्बुद्ध हो गये है!" वहाँ जिन सत्वों ने कुशल-मूल का उत्पाद किया हैं, आवरणों की परिशुद्धि की है, चित्त पक्व हैं, अबहुल अधिमुक्ति के हैं, पुण्य और ज्ञान-सम्भारों का सम्यक् सम्पादन किया है, ऋजु-जातीय हैं, वितर्क के हटाने में असमर्थ हैं। और अप्रतिष्ठितस्वदृष्टिपरामर्श के हों वे इस धर्म का श्रवण करने पर यद्यपि मेरे संधायवचन को ठीक-ठीक नहीं जानते; किन्तु वे उस धर्म में अभिरुचि रखते हैं और श्रद्धा रखते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि "यह सूत्र तथागत द्वारा भाषित है। यह गम्भीर प्रतीत होनेवाला, शून्यता से युक्त, दुर्दर्शन, दुर्विगाह्य, अतर्क्य, अतर्कावचर, सूक्ष्मेक्षिका, निपुणपण्डितविज्ञ द्वारा जानने योग्य है।" यह सोच वे कहते कि 'हम इस सूत्र का अर्थ नहीं जानते, बुद्ध की बोधि गम्भीर है और धर्म-धर्मता भी गम्भीर है। इसे तथागत ही जानते हैं; पर हमलोग नहीं। तथागतों द्वारा देशित धर्म नानाधिमुक्ति के सत्वों में प्रविष्ट होता है। तथागत अनन्त ज्ञान और आलोक रखनेवाले हैं; लेकिन हमलोग कोई ज्ञान और आलोक तो गोपद के बराबर हैं"—यह सोच वे उन सूत्रों का सत्कार करते हुए उन्हें लिखते हैं, लिपिबद्ध करते हैं, धारण करते हैं, पाठ करते हैं, अर्चना करते हैं, पूजन करते हैं, उपदेश सुनते हैं, पठन करते हैं और स्वाध्याय करते हैं। परन्तु वे मेरे इस गम्भीर संधायवचन का नहीं जानने से भावना में योग करने में असमर्थ रहते हैं। वे उस कारण से पुण्यसम्भार की वृद्धि करते हैं, ज्ञान सम्भार की वृद्धि करते हैं। अपरिपक्व चित्त को परिपक्व

करते हैं। यदि उन सत्त्वों में जिन्होंने पुण्य और ज्ञान-सम्भारों को पूरा नहीं किया हो और ऋजुजातीय नहीं हों, वितर्क हटाने में असमर्थ हों और स्वदृष्टिपरामर्श में प्रतिष्ठित हों वे उस धर्म का श्रवण करने पर मेरे गम्भीर संधायवचन को ठीक-ठीक नहीं जानते। वे उस धर्म में भक्ति रखने पर भी ये सभी धर्म निःस्वभाव ही हैं, अनुत्पन्न ही हैं, अनिरुद्ध ही हैं; आदिशान्त हैं और प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत ही हैं—यह कह कर धर्म के अर्थ में यथाशब्द ही अभिनिवेश करते हैं। वे उस कारण से सभी धर्मों को अभावदृष्टि और अलक्षण-दृष्टि से देखते हैं। अभाव-दृष्टि और अलक्षण-दृष्टि प्राप्त हो वे सभी धर्मों की सभी लक्षणों द्वारा निन्दा करते हैं। वे धर्मों के परिकल्पित-लक्षण की भी निन्दा करते हैं। सो किस हेतु ? इसलिए कि हे परमार्थसमुद्गत ! इस प्रकार परतन्त्रलक्षण और परिनिष्पन्नलक्षण यदि सत् हैं तो परिकल्पितलक्षण को भी भली-भाँति जाना जाता है। जो परतन्त्रलक्षण और परिनिष्पन्नलक्षण को अलक्षण दृष्टि से देखते हैं वे परिकल्पितलक्षण पर भी आक्षेप लगाते हैं। इसलिए वे तीनों प्रकार के लक्षणों के निन्दक कहलाते हैं। वे मेरे धर्म को धर्म के रूप में समझते हैं और अनर्थ को अर्थ के रूप में। जो मेरे धर्म को धर्म समझते हैं और अनर्थ को अर्थ जानते हैं वे धर्म को भी धर्म मानते हैं और अनर्थ को भी अर्थ। यद्यपि वे धर्म में श्रद्धा रखते और कुशल धर्मों की वृद्धि करते हैं, पर अनर्थ में अभिनिविष्ट होने से वे प्रज्ञाविहीन हो जाते हैं। प्रज्ञाविपन्न होने से अत्यन्त विपुल और अपरिमित कुशल-धर्मों की भी परिहानि होती है। उनमें से जो धर्म को धर्म और अनर्थ को अर्थ सुनकर दृष्टि में आनन्द लेते हैं वे धर्म को धर्म और अनर्थ को अर्थ समझने के कारण धर्म को धर्म और अनर्थ को अर्थ के रूप में अभिनिवेश करते हैं। वे उन कारण से उसी प्रकार कुशल-धर्मों से विहीन समझना चाहिए। जो दृष्टि में आनन्द नहीं लेते हैं वे उनसे धर्मों की निःस्वभावता के विषय में सुनकर धर्मों के अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त और प्रकृति परिनिर्वृत होने के विषय में सुनकर भयभीत होते हैं, संत्रस्त होते हैं और कहने लगते हैं कि "यह तो बुद्ध-वचन नहीं है, बल्कि मार द्वारा उक्त है।" ऐसा कहते हुए उसे वैसा ही जान वे उन सूत्रान्तों की निन्दा करते हैं, उनका परित्याग करते हैं, उनकी अप्रशंसा करते हैं और गाली देते हैं। उस कारण से वे महाविनाश को प्राप्त होते हैं और कर्मावरण से भी संसर्ग होते हैं। उस कारण से भी जो विशालजनसमूह को कर्मावरण संसर्ग द्वारा धोखा देते हैं और सभी लक्षणों को अभाव देखते हुए अनर्थ को अर्थ बताते हैं वे महान कर्मावरण-समन्वागत होते हैं—ऐसा मैं कहता हूँ। जो सत्व, परमार्थसमुद्गत ! अनुत्पन्न कुशलमूल, अपरिशुद्धावरण, अपरिपक्व संतान, अबहुल

अधिमुक्ति के हों और जिन्होंने पुण्य संभार और ज्ञान-सम्भार का ठीक से संचय नहीं किया है, अऋजुजातीय, वितर्क निवारण में असमर्थ और स्वदृष्टिपरामर्शस्थित हों, वे इस धर्म का श्रवण करने पर मेरे संधायवचन को ठीक-ठीक नहीं जानते तथा उस धर्म में श्रद्धा भी नहीं रखते। वे धर्म को अधर्म समझते हैं और अर्थ को अनर्थ। वे धर्म को भी अधर्म और अर्थ को भी अनर्थ समझकर उनमें अभिनिविष्ट हो कहने लगते कि "यह तो बुद्धवचन नहीं है, प्रत्युत मार द्वारा उक्त है।" ऐसा जानकर वे सूत्रान्तों का अभ्याख्यान करने लगते हैं, परित्याग करते हैं, अश्लोक कहते हैं, दुर्वचन बोलते हैं और दूषित करते हैं। वे अनेक प्रकार से उन सूत्रान्तों का परित्याग करते हैं, विप्रणाश करते हैं और विनाश करने के लिए प्रवृत्त होते हैं और उन सूत्रों के प्रति श्रद्धा रखनेवाले पुरुषों को भी शत्रु समझते हैं। वे पहले से ही कर्मावरण से आवृत होते हैं। और, उस कारण से भी उसी प्रकार के कर्मावरण से आवृत होते हैं। उस कर्मावरण को बताना सुकर है, पर यह कहना कठिन है कि शतसहस्रनयुत कोटिकल्पों में उस कर्मावरण की शुद्धि होगी। इसलिए हे परमार्थसमुद्गत! मेरे इस सुभाषित धर्मविनय, सुप्रणीत, सुविशुद्धाशयवेदित और सुप्रवेदित धर्म के प्रति सत्त्वों की अधिमुक्ति का ऐसा भी क्रम प्रतीत होता है। तब भगवान ने उस समय यह गाथा कही—

"सर्वधर्म निःस्वभाव हैं, सर्व धर्म अनुत्पन्न हैं,
सर्वधर्म अनिरुद्ध हैं, सर्वधर्म आदिशान्त हैं,
सर्वधर्म प्रकृति परिनिर्वृत हैं, ऐसा
बिना आशय के कौन विज्ञ कहता है।
लक्षण निःस्वभाव है, उत्पत्ति-निःस्वभाव है,
परमार्थ निःस्वभाव है—यह मैंने कहा है।
जो विज्ञ इस आशय को समझता है,
वह प्रणाशमार्ग की ओर नहीं जाता
सबके लिए यह एकमात्र विशुद्धमार्ग है।
विशुद्धि भी एक ही है दो नहीं,
इसलिए इस एकयान का उत्पाद किया गया है,
लेकिन विभिन्न गोत्र के सत्त्वों का भी अभाव नहीं है,
इस सत्त्वधातु में ऐसे अपरिमित सत्त्वगुण हैं जो
अकेले ही निर्वाण को प्राप्त होना चाहते हैं, पर
ऐसे दृढ़ और करुणाशील सत्त्व अतिदुर्लभ हैं

जो निर्वाण-प्राप्त होने पर भी सत्त्वों का परित्याग नहींकरते।
उन मुक्त सत्त्वों का अनास्रव-धातु,
सूक्ष्माचिन्त्य, सम-निर्विशेष,
सर्वार्थसिद्ध, त्यक्त दुःख और क्लेश
अद्वयवादी, परम-सुखात्मक और विश्वस्त है।"

तब उस समय परमार्थसमुद्गत ने भगवान से यह कहा—"आश्चर्य भगवन ! भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट संधायवचन, जो अत्यन्त दुर्विगाह्य है वह आश्चर्य है ! भगवान ! आप भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट अर्थ को मैंने इस प्रकार समझा है—वितर्कगोचर, परिकल्पितलक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त को रूप-स्कन्ध के नाम से स्वभावलक्षण या विशेपलक्षण के रूप में व्यवहार और संकेत के लिए व्यवस्थापित किया गया है। जो रूप-स्कन्ध की उत्पत्ति होती है, रूप-स्कन्ध का निरोध होता है, रूप-स्कन्ध का प्रहाण होता है और इसका परिज्ञान होता है इस प्रकार स्वभावलक्षण या विशेपलक्षण के रूप में व्यवहार और संकेत के लिए व्यवस्थापित है वह परिकल्पितलक्षण है। उसकी सहायता से (=उसके माध्यम से) भगवान धर्मों की लक्षण-निःस्वभावता प्रज्ञापित करते हैं। जो वितर्क गोचर, परिकल्पितलक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त है वह परतन्त्रलक्षण है। उसके माध्यम से भगवन धर्मों की उत्पत्ति-निःस्वभावता और परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता में से एक ही प्रज्ञापित करते हैं। भगवान! आप भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट अर्थ को मैंने इस प्रकार समझा है——जो विकल्पगोचर परिकल्पितलक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त है वह परिकल्पितलक्षण के रूप में अपरिनिष्पन्न और निःस्वभाव है। इसीलिए जो निः-स्वभावता, धर्मनैरात्म्यभूतता और विशुद्धालम्बन है वह परिनिष्पन्नलक्षण है। उसके सहारे आप भगवान धर्मों की परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता प्रज्ञापित करते हैं। जिस प्रकार रूप-स्कन्ध है उसी प्रकार शेप स्कन्धों की भी योजना करनी चाहिए। स्कन्धों की ही भाँति बारह आयतनों के प्रत्येक आयतन की भी योजना करनी चाहिए। द्वादश भवांगो के प्रयेक भवाग की भी०। चार आहारों के प्रत्येक आहार की भी०।छह धातुओं और अठारह धातुओं के प्रत्येक धातु की भी०। भगवन ! आप भगवान ने जो उपदेश कियाहै उसका अर्थ मैंने इस प्रकार समझा है—जिस विकल्पगोचर परिकल्पितलक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त को दुःख-सत्य और दुःख-सत्य-परिज्ञा कह स्वभावलक्षण या विशेषलक्षण के रूप में व्यवहार और संकेत के लिए व्यवस्थापित हुआ है वह परिकल्पित लक्षण है। उसके सहारे आप भगवान धर्मों की लक्षण-निःस्वभावता प्रज्ञापित करते हैं। जो विकल्पगोचर परिकल्पितलक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त है वह परतन्त्रलक्षण है। उसके

माध्यम से आप भगवान धर्म-निःस्वभावता और परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता में से एक का प्रज्ञापन करते हैं। भगवन ! आप भगवान ने जो उपदेश किया है उसका अर्थ मैंने इस प्रकार समझा है—जो विकल्पगोचर, परिकल्पित लक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त है और उस परिकल्पित लक्षण के रूप में अपरिनिष्पन्न है तथा प्रकृति-निःस्वभाव, धर्म-निरात्म, भूतता, विशुद्धालम्वन है वह परिनिष्पन्नलक्षण है। उसके माध्यम से आप भगवान धर्मों की उस परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता में से एक का प्रज्ञापन करते हैं। जैसे दुःख-सत्य है वैसे ही मैं शेष सत्यों की भी योजना करता हूँ। जैसे सत्यों की, वैसे ही मैं स्मृत्युपस्थानों, सम्यक्-प्रहाणों, ऋद्धि-पादों, इन्द्रियों, वलों, बोध्यंगों, अष्टांगिक-मार्गों के प्रत्येक अंग की भी योजना करता हूँ। भगवन ! आप भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट अर्थ को मैंने इस प्रकार समझा है—जिन विकल्पगोचर, परिकल्पित लक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त को, जिन्हें सम्यक् समाधि और समाधि असपक्ष या प्रतिपक्ष या समाधि-भावना या अनुत्पन्न की उत्पत्ति या उत्पन्न की स्थिति, अविनाश, पुनः पुनः उत्पत्ति, वृद्धि इत्यादि स्वभाव लक्षण या विशेषलक्षण के रूप में व्यवहार और संकेत के लिए व्यवस्थापित किया गया है वह परिकल्पित लक्षण है। उसके माध्यम से आप भगवान ने धर्मों की लक्षण-निःस्वभावता प्रज्ञापित की है। जोविकल्पावचर परिकल्पित लक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त है वह परतन्त्र लक्षण हैं। उसकेमाध्यम से आप भगवान ने धर्मों की निःस्वभावता और परमार्थ-निःस्वभावतामें से एक का प्रज्ञापन किया है। भगवन ! आप भगवान ने जो उपदेश किया है उसे मैंने इस प्रकार समझा है—विकल्पगोचर, परिकल्पित लक्षण विषय संस्कार-निमित्त जो परिकल्पित लक्षण के रूप में अपरिनिष्पन्न, प्रकृति निःस्वभाव, धर्म निरात्म, भूतता और विशुद्धालम्बन है वह परिनिष्पन्नलक्षण है। उसके माध्यम से भगवान ने धर्मों की परमार्थ-निःस्वभावता प्रज्ञापित की है। जैसे भगवन ! सोंठ को चूर्ण औषधिमिश्रित और रसायनमिश्रित सभी औषधियों में दिया जाता है वैसे ही धर्मों की निःस्व-भावता से लेकर, अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त, प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत से लेकर आप भगवान ने जिस नीतार्थ की देशना की है इसीको सभी नेयार्थ-सूत्रों में उपदिष्ट किया है। जैसे भगवान ! चित्राधार चाहे नील रंग का हो या पीत, लोहित हो या श्वेत, सभी चित्रकारों के लिए समरस होता है और उस पर अंकित चित्र भी सुस्पष्ट होता है, वैसे ही आप भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट यह नीतार्थ भी धर्म-निःस्वभावता से आरम्भ कर प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत तक सभी नेयार्थ-सूत्रों के लिए समरस है और वे नेयार्थ भी सुस्पष्ट हैं। जैसे, भगवन ! घृत को सभी प्रकार के खाद्यों में दिया जाने पर सुस्वादिष्ट हो

जाता है वैसे ही धर्म-निःस्वभावता प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत से आरम्भ कर आप भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट यह नीतार्थ भी सभी नेयार्थ-सूत्रों के रूप में उपदेश दिये जाने पर सत्वों को प्रीति और प्रमोद प्राप्त होते हैं। जैसे भगवन ! आकाश सबके लिए समरस होता है और सभी प्रयत्नों को आवृत नहीं करता है, वैसे ही धर्म-निःस्वभावता से आरम्भ कर प्रकृतिनिर्वृत तक आप भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट यह नीतार्थ भी सभी नेयार्थ-सूत्रों के लिए समरस है और श्रावकयान, प्रत्येक बुद्धयान और महायान पर दियेगये सभी उपदेशों को आवृत नहीं करता है। ऐसा कहने पर भगवान ने बोधिसत्त्व परमार्थ-समुद्गत को साधुवाद देते हुए कहा—"साधु, साधु, परमार्थ समुद्गत ! तुमने तथागत के संधाय वचन को समझ लिया है। जैसा तुमने उस अभिप्राय को सोंठ, चित्राधार और आकाश का उदाहरण देकर समझाया है वह परमार्थ समुद्गत ! वैसा ही है, अन्य नहीं। इसलिए उसे वैसा ही धारण करो"। तब परमार्थसमुद्गत ने भगवान से यह कहा —"आप भगवान ने सबसे पहले वाराणसी में, ऋषिपतन मृगदाव में, यानसंप्रस्थितों को चार आर्य-सत्यों का उपदेश किया। आप भगवान ने उस अनुपम धर्मचक्र को प्रवर्तित किया जिसे लोक में पहले देवता या मनुष्य किसी ने भी धर्मानुकूल प्रवर्तित नहीं किया था। आप भगवान द्वारा प्रवर्तित वह धर्मचक्र सोत्तर, सावकाश, नेयार्थ और विवादाधिकरण है। आप भगवान ने धर्म-निःस्वभावता से आरम्भ कर अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त, प्रकृतिपरिनिर्वृत से आरम्भ कर महायान संप्रस्थितों को शून्यता सम्बन्धी उपदेश के रूप में अनुपम द्वितीय धर्मचक्र को प्रवर्तित किया और भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट वह धर्मचक्र भी सोत्तर, सावकाश, नेयार्थ और विवादाधिकारण है। और आप भगवान ने धर्म-निःस्वभावता से आरम्भकर अनुत्पन्न, अनिरुद्ध, आदिशान्त, प्रकृतिपरिनिवृत तक और वहाँ से आरम्भ कर सर्वयान संप्रस्थितो को सुविभक्त, आश्चर्याद्भुतप्राप्त तृतीय धर्मचक्र को प्रवर्तित किया। आप भगवान द्वारा प्रवर्तित यह धमचक्र अनुत्तर, निरावकाश और नीतार्थ है तथा अविवादाधिकरण है। हे भगवन ! आप भगवान द्वारा उपदिष्ट धर्म-निःस्वभावता से आरम्भ कर प्रकृति-परिनिर्वृत तक के इस नीतार्थ को जो कुलपुत्र या कुलपुत्री श्रवण करते हुए श्रद्धा करे, लिखवावे, लिखवाकर धारण करे, पाठ करे, पूजन करे, उपदेश सुने, स्वाध्याय करे, चिन्तन करे, और भावना करे तो उसको कितना पुण्य प्राप्त होता है ? ऐसा कहने पर भगवान ने परमार्थ समुद्गत से यह कहा—"परमार्थ समुद्गत ! उस कुलपुत्र या कुल-पुत्रीको अपरिमित, असंख्य पुण्यप्राप्त होता है। उसका उदाहरण देना सुकर नहीं है। लेकिन तो भी मैं तुम्हें संक्षेप से बताता हूँ। जैसे, परमार्थ समुद्गत ! नखाग्रस्थित पृथिवीरज की तुलना पृथवीस्थित रजसे की जायतो वह उसका शतांश (=सौवांभाग) भी,

सहांस्रांश भी, लक्षांश भी० प्राप्त नहीं होगा। गोपद के पानी की तुलना चार महासमुद्रों के जल से की जाय तो वह उसका शतांश भी०। वैसे ही परमार्थ समुद्गत ! मेरे द्वारा उपदिष्ट उस नेयार्थ-सूत्र में श्रद्धा रखने वाले से आरम्भ कर भावनामें योग करने वाले तक के पुण्य जो है उसकी तुलना नीतार्थमें श्रद्धा करने वालेसेआरम्भ कर भावना में योग करने वाले तक के पुण्य से की जायतो वह उसका शतांश भी०। भगवान के ऐसा कहने पर बोधिसत्त्व परमार्थ समुद्गत ने भगवानसे यह कहा—"भगवन ! आपने यहाँ जो सन्धिनिर्मोचन धर्म पर्याय का उपदेश किया है उसका नाम क्या है ? इसको कैसे धारण करूँ? भगवान ने कहा—"परमार्थ समुद्गत !यह परमार्थनीतार्थ की देशना है। इसे परमार्थ-नीतार्थ के नाम से धारण करो। "इस परमार्थ-नीतार्थ के उपदेश दिये जाने पर छह लाख प्राणियोंको अनुत्तर सम्यक् सम्बोधि में चित्तोत्पन्न हुआ। तीन लाखश्रावकों कोविमल-विरज धर्मचक्षु उत्पन्न हुआ। पाँचलाखदशसहस्र श्रावकगण अनुपादाय आस्रवों से विमुक्त-चित्त हो गए। पचहत्तरहजार बोधिसत्त्वगण अनुत्पाद धर्मक्षान्ति को प्राप्त हुए।



Logic behind allowing Meat-Eating and Prohibiting it in Buddhism*

CHANDRA SHEKHAR PRASAD

The Buddha accepted meat and fish in alms and so did the monks in his time. He turned down the proposal for prohibiting meat and fish strictly among monks made by Devadatta, a self-styled rival of the Buddha in the Community of monks.[1] The monks were, however, restrained from eating meat and fish which was blameworthy in three ways —'seen, heard and suspected' that it was prepared from beings killed specially for their sake; they were allowed to eat only that meat and fish which was blameless in three ways, i. e., 'not seen, not heard and not suspected 'that it was prepared from beings Killed specially for their sake[2] There were also some other rules which further specified the type of meat and fish, and the precautions to be taken in this respect. This practice of eating meat and fish in the Buddha's time continued and has come down among the Hīnayāna monks of Ceylon, Burma, and other Countries.

In Mahāyāna the practice of eating meat and fish was denounced and prohibited totally among the monks of its fold.[3] In China, Japan and other countries where Mahāyān Buddhism was introduced and

---

*Read at the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan, Tokyo 1971, nad a summary has been published in the *Transactions of the International conference of Orientalists in Japan*, Tokyo, 1971.

1. *The Vinaya Pitakam*, ed. H, Oldenderg (Londor. 1879-83) III, 171f.

2. *Ibid, I*, 238.

3. *Saddharma Lankāvatāra Sūtram*, ed. *P. L. Vaidya* (Darbhanga, 1963 Ch. viii "Mamsabhaksanaparivarto."

further develope d, the prohibition has mostly been observed. With the development of Tantrayāna or Esoteric Buddhism, which upheld the ideal of Mahāyāna but adopted the esoteric means in order to realise the ideal and goal, the prohibition was done away with and the practice of eating meat and fish was revived.This form of Buddhism found favour with the people of Tibet and among the lamas of Tibet the eating of meat is a common practice.

In this paper an attempt has been made to find out the logic behind allowing meat-eating in Hīnayāna and in Tantrayana and prohibiting it in Mahāyāna examining their goal and means, and to show how their acts are in conformity with their ideals and means and conductive to their goal.

In Hīnayāna: The fundamental problem in all forms of Buddhism is the same that of suffering, and *Nirvāṇa* in which there is a complete freedom from suffering is the ultimate goal of all. In tne scriptures of Hīnayāna suffering is described by enumerating certain happenings and activities of life, such as birth, oldage, death, sorrow...encounter with the unwanted, separation from the beloved and a generalisation that th3 five aggregates which make an individual are fraught with sufferings. These happenings and activities are universally experienced cases of suffering. But besides these, all activities including those which tend to bring pleasure in life are called suffering because these turn out to be suffering when the things around which activities are made go otherwise; these turn out to be suffering, for these involve one into a chain activities in the vain hope of keeping intact the pleasure derived from them[1]

There are two things that turn all activities into suffering. First, the transitory and substanceless nature of things, and secondly, man,s craving, for attachment to things. As things are by very nature going otherwise, this otherwiseness in things of his attachment. is some thing

1 *Dīgha Niākya*' ed. J. E. Carpenter (London, 1190-91), III 216· *Dukkha-dukkha*'ā, *saṅkhāra-dukkhatā*, *Parināma-dukkhatā*.

undesirable and thus brings suffering to him. It is often said in the scriptures that all things are transitory; that which is transitory is substanceless, and that which is transitory and substanceless is also suffiering[1]

The main task before an aspirant to *Nirvāṇa* is thus to cut off the attachment to things with full understanding of their real nature. And he does so by stopping doing things inspired by motivating factors (*hetus*). good or bad, and turning all his activities into mere actions (*kiriyā*). The way for the realisation of this task is a process of self-culture both in the way of conducting oneself and in that of seeing things It consists in restricting and setting aright activities in accordance with the moral precepts (*sīla*), subduing further the mind through the practice of concentration (*samadhi*) and applying the mind to the contemplation of wisdom (*paññā*)-

An aspirant set on eliminating attachment to things begins with renouncing all his possessions, and taking upon himself the homeless life of a recluse. His requirements are reduced to four—food, just to fill the belly, clothing to cover the body, a place to rest and medicine when ill. These four are called supports (*nissaya*) of the recluse life. There are elaborate rules regarding these four which explain their purpose, type and the way to procure them.

As regards food, it is said that a monk eats food not in order to make himself sportive, beautify himself, embellish himself but to keep himself healthy and going on. He eats only that much of food which is necessary for his being able to lead the noble life, to put down the old feelings and not to let arise new ones, to make his sitting down, getting up, etc. non-exerting and comfortable.[2]

Monks were required to procure their food by begging. Befor midday they used to go to the nearby villages on a round for alms and pass from door to door stopping at each door silently for a while without omitting a single one, rich or poor, of superior caste or of low caste, until sufficient food for a meal was collected (*supadāna caikam*). They

1 *Samyutta Nikāya*, ed. M. Leon Feer (London, 1884-98), II,53; III, 22 &, 112' IV, 28.

2 *Majjhima Nikāya*, ed. V. Trenckner (London, 1888-89)-I 10.

were also allowed to go at times to laydevotee's for a meal on their invitation.

Monks were required to accept only cooked food put in their alms-bowl (*pindiyālopabhojanam*). On a round for alms or on an invitation to a laydevotee's house they were to avoid suggesting explicitly or implicitly to offer any particular food, unless a monk was ill and was asked by a laydevotee about the food suitable to his physical-condition.[1] They were required to accept whatever they were offered. In case of their being offered meat they were required to be a little reflective as to its purity, that is, whether it was not prepared of beings killed specially for their sake.

Any kind of service including preaching for the sake of food was against the right means of livelihood. The Buddha and his disciples always preached to laydevotees after having finished their meal, whenever He and His disciples were invited for a meal.

In the light of the main task of eliminating craving for, attachment to things and the acceptance of whatever food was put in the begging bowl as a starting step towards the realisation of the task, the eating of meat is quite in conformity with the task and also conducive to its attainment. In fact, the prohibition of meat in all circumstances is not conducive to the attainment of the task, for the prohibition meaning by implication selection of, preference to this one and not to that one is to expose monks to the act of encouraging fascination for things of their desire, and thus to defeat the very efforts of eliminating craving and getting even-minded with all things.

Further, their accepting meat in alms does not in any way infringe the first precept of refraining from killing living beings, as they did not have any hand direct or indirect in killing or any desire to receive meat in alms. An individual is responsible only for those deeds which he commits with a good or a bad intention and their fruits, good or bad, bind him in the cycle of birth and death. All deeds which are mere actions, devoid of all intentions, good and bad, do not bear any fruit and consequently do not prolong the span of life.

1 *The Vinaya Pitakam*, IV, 87-89; V, 146.

Further, the observance of the prohibition of meat as a righteous deed is also a sort of givenness, attachment. The givenness to a righteous deed is the first of the ten bondages (*sanyojanas*), and a monk has to sever any givenness left to righteous deeds (*sīlavattaparāmās*) before he enters the supermundane sphere (*lokottara bhūmi*).

Further, the attitude of no-discrimination saved monks from going to the extreme of self-mortification which the Buddha denounced together with the other extreme of self-indulgence, and preached the Middle Way leaving out the two extremes. A monk wandering through villages where meat was the main food did not have to go without food and to suffer physically in his cultivation of spiritual life. However, monks were instructed to avoid making such places their abode where people were eating dead animals or other big annimals or beasts of prey.[1]

Lastly the attitude of no-discrimination was good also in the interest of laydevotees who were non-vegetarian. They could offer the food ready at the time of monks visiting them on their round for alms and were thus saved from any embarassment of letting them go without food. Offering food to monks was a meritorious act, and all gained the equal chance to earn merit by offering food available in their house to monks. However, any abuse of this opportunity, that is, to serve monks with the meat of beings killed for their sake is said to incur demerits instead.[2]

The practice of accepting meat and fish has come down to the Hīnayāna monks of our times. Although the practice of begging alms has been discontinued and food arranged collectively in the monasteries or separately outside by monks themselves, they themselves do not kill living beings for meat. Nor is the killing of beings for meat done in the monasteries.

In Mahāyāna : The Buddha showed the path to the cessation of sufferings which he took upon Himself to search out out of compassion for all beings. And quite naturally the disciples around Him concentrated on treading the way and releasing themselves from their sufferings once

1 *Ibid*, I, 219-20.
2 *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 371.

for all. This very concern for their own release continued in the community of orthodox monks, which was later called Hīnayāna by those who disapproved of it as selfish and propogated the altruistic ideal of Mahāyāna. In Mahāyāna the putting off of one's own release for the sake of helping others out of sufferings became the order of life of a *bodhisattva*.

In Hīnayāna too, there is this ideal of helping others. Just after converting His first few disciples the Buddha admonished them to go around for the well-being of all, for the happiness of all, out of compassion for all. Friendliness (*mettā*) and compassion (*karunā*) are two of the four limitless (*appamaññā*) which a monk extends without limit in all directions towards all beings. But their extension of friendliness and compassion to all without limit is confined to their own mental make-up towards others.[1] Their going around for the well-being of others is limited to giving a guidance as to leading the life in accordance with the teachings of the Buddha. Even the Buddha is just a Shower of the path (*Maggadassako*). He initiated His disciples to the path, but did not ever grant release from sufferings. In His last sermon He admonished monks to be a light unto themselves, take refuse unto themselves and not unto others. Each has to tread the path by himself and reach the destination, i. e., *Nirvāṇa*.[2]

In Mahāyāna giving help to others is not limited simply to giving a guidance and leaving entirely to them to work out their own release. It also means rescuing and ferrying them across the stream of *sansāra* which all beings are not capable to cross over by themselves. A bodhisattva reaches them this kind of help by dedicating and sharing all of his own including the accumulation of merits.[3] A transference of merits to others is metaphysically impossible in Hīnayāna. The flow of life of each individual is separate. An individual's flow of life is a result of his own deeds and he alone is in a position to bring a change in it through his own deeds.

1 *Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosācariya*, ed. H. C. Warren (London, 1950 , Ch. ix: "Brahmavihāraniddeso"—the four limittesses are also the subjects of concentration.

2 *Dīgha Nikaya*, II, 100.

3 *Sikṣā Samuccaya of Śāntideva*, ed. P. L. Vaidya (Darbhanga, 1961), p. 20f.

With this change in emphasis from one's own release to other's first and in the meaning of helping others, there developed the Bodhisattva doctrine of Mahāyāna. The ultimate goal of life remains the same, that of *Nirvāṇa*, but the conception of *Nirvāṇa* changed. It is not only the state of a complete freedom from sufferings, but also the ultimate nature of all things, that is *śūnya*. *Nirvāṇa* is attained on the realisation of full-enlightenment of which an *arhat* of Hīnayāna remains deprived. The way to realisation of full-enlightenment is not the same as that of the Hīnayāna monks, it is the way of a *bodhisattva*. The main feature of the way is the practice of *pārmitās* of which *prajñā* (wisdom) and *kṣānti* (forbearance) are of foremost importance.

A *bodhisattva* is a being well set on the realisation of full-enlightenment. He does so out of love and compassion for all in distress. Universal love (*mahāmaitrī*) and universal compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) are the very essence of his life. Out of universal love and compassion he sets aside his own *Nirvāṇa* and takes births again and again in order to work for the well-being of others and to share with them his own accumulation of merits. The shift to the absolutistic conception in metaphysics removed the metaphysical difficulty in the transference of merits. An individual is here stripped of his separate entity. He is relative in his mundane sphere. In society he is an interrelated unit and whatever he does has its effects on others in the society. A *bodhisattva* working for the upliftment of the society is, therefore, in a position to bring change in the individuals and society through his own work.

In this line of development of Buddhist thought, the logic of 'not-killed for my sake; no hand direct or indirect in killing; etc'. lost its relevance in Mahāyāna. The practice of eating meat became inconsistent with the practice of universal love and compassion towards all beings and the tenet of ultimate oneness (*śūnyatā*) of all beings. The same was denounced and prohibited. Denouncing eating of meat the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* has also hit upon the ultimate oneness of all beings and the ideal of universal love and compassion and gone to the length of saying that to eat meat of birds and animals is to eat one's own meat, and this is

against human nature and feelings. The other reasons given there point to the filthy and soon-polluting nature of meat, its adverse effects on one's body and others. An eater is held ultimately resposible for the existence of butchers and butchery.[1]

Championing the cause of prohibition advocated in the *Lankāvatāra* other *Sūtras* of Mahāyāna Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (pp. 73-5) upholds that there is nothing 'like in three ways blameless meat' which is not prepared (for one's sake), not asked and not solicited. The prohibition applies to all kinds of meat including the so-called blameless meat and the meat of animals that have died a natural death. However, the Vinaya allows monks to eat blameless meat. It has twofold purpose of breakng the pride of those who think that the observance of prohibition itself is a token of their purification; and secondly of bringing home the fact to those eating meat that it, in no way, blocks the path of purification, if they are capable to attain. On the authority of the *Jñānavatiparivarta*, he also favours the use of meat as medicine, if it is necessary for the sake of saving the life of one who is devoted to the services of the Dharma. The different rules regarding meat, sometimes contradicting one another, are like staircases. The eating of blameles meat was allowed for monks who were not advanced enough to observe total abstention.

In China and other countries where Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced and further developed, the prohibiton has been observed but not in all sections. The breaking of prohibition in certain sects in the past and to-day is due to their eagerness to adjust to the people's mode of life and geographical conditions and not to any shift in their basic ideal of Mahāyāna.

In Tāntric Buddhism: In Tāntric Buddhism the ideal remais the same as that of Mahāyāna, but a new element of bliss was introduced in the conception of *Nirvāna*. *Nirvāna* is not simply the state free from all suffering but also the ultimate nature of all things, as held in Mahāyāna and a state of perfect bliss. The state of perfect bliss is realised through

7 *Sadharma-Lankāvatāra Sutram*, Ch. viii : "Mamsabhakshaṇaparivarto."

wisdom and skill in means. Wisdom, the realisation of the Absolute, is conceived as the passive feminine principle and the means which is love, compassion is the active masculine principle, and the comingling of wisdom and means free from duality is the state of perfect bliss.

In practice, the idea of commingling of two opposite factors in harmony as the state of bliss led to the idea of participating in and overcoming things around. The old moral precepts of celibacy and purity in food was discarded and the practice of *pañcamakāra* (five things with initial m-letter) was advocated. These five are meat, fish, wine, sexual relation, and *mudrā* (posture in devotion and worship). The idea here is to expose the senses to things both alluring and disgusting so as to bring home the vainness of sense pleasures and also to subdue and train the senses to rid of the feeling of repugnance fron disgusting things.[1] In the Tantra it is said that by the same deeds by which a man rot in a hell for hundreds of thousands of cycles, a *yogi* becomes liberated.[2] Futher, participation (*rāga*) binds a man to the cycles of birth and death and by participation he becomes liberated.[3] A seeker of liberation extends his participation in all beyond particulars, beyond limits.

This form of Buddhism found favour with the people of Tibet and became further mixed up with the indigenous practices of the place. In 14th century Tsong-kha-pa purged the community of the Kadampa sect of the esoteric excesses and established once again the practice of celibacy and strict monastic rules, but he did not prohibit the practice of eating meat. As the present Dalai lama in his book, ***My Land and My People***, has pointed out, the severe cold climate is behind this practice of eating meat.[4]

In fine, we may conclude that the exclusive emphasis on eliminating attachment to things led in Hīnayāna to refraining from making any discrimination in food and consequently to accept meat and fish in alms. In fact, it forms a part of the programme of self-culture. In Mahāyāna the altruistic ideal stands behind the prohibition and it is quite in conformity with the doctrine of *śūnyatā*. In Tantric Buddhism the idea of participation beyond particulars beyond limits as means justifies the eating of meat and fish though it goes against the ideal of Mahāyāna and the doctrine of *śūnyatā* which it also upholds.

---

1 *Jñānasiddhi*, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XLIV, 57.

2 *Ibid*, p. 31.

3 *The Hevajra Tantra: a Critical Study*, ed. D. L. Snellgrove, (London, 1959), II, 141; I, 93

4 (New York : Megraw-Hill, 1962), p. 16.

Influence of Buddhism on Indian and Indo-Asian Art

Prof. Dilip Kumar Banerji,
Lecturer, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara

Buddhism as a determining factor in the history of the world is an historic fact. The influence which it exerted on the figurative and plastic arts of India and of those countries which received the message of the Buddha is significant not only in the history of Indian art but also in the artistic traditions of other countries of Asia and the Far-East.

In the present article we would try to assess in brief the contributions of Buddhism in the development of the art and architecture of India and of those countries which were directly or indirectly inspired by Buddhism.

Buddhist art, taken in its historical perspective is an integral part of the entire artistic tradition of India. Indian art, besides being a documentary evidence of a majestic and glorious civilization, renders in eloquent visual forms the whole message that India has to offer to mankind. Before coming to the specific contribution of Buddhism to Indian art, it would not be out of place to give an historical background of the Pre-Buddhist artistic activities of India.

Unfortunately for us, in India we do not come across any art-remains that can be definitely dated in the Vedic and Post-Vedic epochs—epochs for which we have got ample and unimpeachable literary evidence. Between the period of the Indus-valley civilization and the Buddhist period —which is generally assumed to start from the advent of the Buddha---there is a long gap in Indian art history.

The Śaiśunāga Nanda period of Indian history (c. 642-300 B. C.) ushers in a definite historical period. The kings of two dynasties ruling

in Magadha include the Śaiśunāgas (c. 413-322 B. C.) and the Nandas (c 413-322 B. C.). To the Śaiśunāga dynasty belong the two famous kings Bimbisāra Śreṣṇka, the builder of New Rajagrha and Ajātaśatru (Kuṇika) the founder of Pāṭaliputra, both of them were contemporaries of the Buddha. Both of them have been mentioned in the Pali canonical literature and the firsl Buddhist council is traditionally said to have been convened at Rajagrha under the aegis of Ajatasatru.

Among the actual remains of the Pre-Maurya period may be mentioned the Cyclopean walls of old Rājagrha. In fact, this is the first historical structure that can be definitely ascribed to a known period of Indian history.

Indian history assumes a more or less continuous character with the 6th century B. C.—a period which witnessed a great ferment in the intellectual life of ancient India. It was during this period that Buddhism appeared in India and ushered in new ideas and speculations in the realm of thought —ideas that were soon to change the entire texture of the pattern of life in ancient India, taking firm roots on the India soil and incidentally setting in motion a thought movent that was subsequently destined to influence a major portion of humanity.

The sixth century B. C. marks the emergence of big imperial states out of the tribal political organizations of the earlier time. The ideal of universal sovereignty inspired these states to enter into a contest for political suzerainty and empire building which in the long run culminated in the hegemony of Magadha over practically the whole of India. The centralization of political power resulted in a spirit of self-reliance and self-consciousness. The intellectual outlook was broadened and was reflected in the creative arts of the entire country.

Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor appeared in this momentous age and under his regime Buddhist art gradually evolved into a definite school and from India this art-tradition followed the glorious expansion of Buddhism in those countries where Buddhist culture spread.

We have no specimens of early Buddhist art. i. e., pre--Maurya Buddhist art. Literary references and art-objects belonging to the later

epochs point to an artistic tradition and "appear to indicate the existence of plastic practices in such impermanent materials as wood, clay, ivory, etc. even in this early age".[1]

When Aśoka ascended the throne of Magadha, the art of India enters into a new phase. The age of Aśoka heralds in a glorious age of Indian art-history. Along with his missionary activities as a Buddhist Emperor, he also sponsored a style of art that was the direct outcome of his religious outlook—a style that was taken up by the sculptors and architects and continued and developed to its utmost perfection, as the subsequent periods of Indian art manifestly prove. As Heinrich Zimmer aptly puts it, "Aśoka was not a Hindu, however, but a Buddhist, hence in the religious art of his empire all the traditional motifs of ancient Indian art and architecture were made to accord with the ideology of the New Gospel."[2]

The use of stone as a permanent medium of plastic expression seems to coincide with the Aśokan epoch. The artists and sculptors who had been handling materials of a different kind and perfecting their technique suddenly switched over to a new idiom and showed a complete mastery in handling this new material. The objects of art definitely belonging to the Mauryan period are the columns popularly called "lats" bearing the inscriptions of Aśoka. A number of such pillars have been found in Bihar and Vārāṇasī--the most important being found at Lauriya Nandangarh (N. Bihar), Lauriya Araraj, Rampurva and Sarnath.

On the whole all these pillars follow a uniform pattern in their execution, being fashioned out of grey Chunar sandstone and stand directly on the ground without any masonry platform or plinth having been kept in position by being simply buried in the earth. The shaft, which is plain and circular, tapers upwards and is chiselled out of a single block of stone. The capital surmounting the top of the pillar is a separate piece fixed to it. It consists of three portions, viz, a bell-shaped reversed lotus (the so-called Persepolitan Bell), surmounted by an

1. S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 26.
2 .Heinrich zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, Newyork, 1955, p. 5.

abacus supporting an animal sculpture in the round. The entire pillar is characterized by a finished surface with a highly lustrous polish—the Maurya polish – a phenomenon about the origin of which there is much controversy.

The finest example of the Aśokan pillars is that preserved in the Sarnath Museum, the famous "Lion-capital". It was erected on the traditional site of the "First turning of the wheel of Law" (Dhammacakka pavattana). The shaft is of plain polished sandstone, circular in shape and slightly tapering upwards, the capital consists of four addorsed lions, which orignally supported a Dhammacakka and rests on an abacus which shows an innovation in the sense that it represents four animals, an elephant, a horse, a bull and a lion separated by small Dhammacakkas. Below this abacus is the inverted lotus forming the bell.

Of all the known specimens of Mauryan Art the Sarnath quadripartite is the best example typifying in it the developed and polished technique which is the hall-mark of Maurya art. According to Sir John Marshall the "Sarnath capital though by no means a masterpiece is the product of the most developed art of which the world was cognizant in the third century B. C."[1]

An appreciation of Aśokan art will not be complete unless we point out some of its notable features. The four animals, elephant, bull, horse and lion are very significant art—motifs from the Buddhist point of view These are associated with the four cardinal events connected with the Buddha.

The elephant signifies the dream of queen Māyā in which she sees a white elephant entering into her body – a dream that prognosticated the birth of the Buddha. The bull stands for the nativity of birth of the Master, the prancing horse the Great Renunciation (Mahābhinikkhama) and finally the lion which is prominently displayed on the top signifies the Dhammacakkapavattana (the turning of the wheel of Law)—the most important event not only in the life of the Master but, also in the entire history of Buddhism. All these animals have been sculptured in bold

1. Dr. Nihar Ranjan, *Maurya and Sunga Art*, Calcutta, 1945, p. 39.

realism and their vigorous modelling and plastic quality testify to the artist's developed sense of form and their perfect mastery over the stone-cutter's art. Taking into account the surface – polish found on most of the capitals, as also, the architectural peculiarities, some scholars have been prone to emphasize the "Perso--Hellenic influences that were at work in the execution of these pillars.

Of course some amount of foreign influences may be traceable in the polished animal capitals of Aśoka, but a particular stylistic attitude may develop independently without any extraneous influence.[1]

According to Coomarswamy, both the Mauryan Indian and the Persian or rather Achaemenian idiom of art belong to a common cultural heritage, viz, the Western-Asian culture-complex. Again a comparative study of the Aśokan and the Persepolitan columns will demonstrate the differences in technique employed in the execution of the pillars.

The art of the Aśokan period was specifically Buddhistic and inspired by the idealism of Dhammāśoka. As Prof. S. K. Sarasvati observes, "like all court arts, it was to a certain extent, eclectic with very little emphasis on this or that individual tradition. The imperial will of the great Aśoka brought it into being and it served his purpose as a vehicle of his policy of Dhammavijaya." We should also mention the architectural achievements of Aśoka as these represent the earliest forms of Buddhist architecture, which became a specialized school in the later period and migrated to other Asiatic countries in the track of Buddhism, there to undergo local stylistic modifications.

The architectural remains of Aśoka's reign in polished sandstone besides monolithic rails and pillars, include the remnants of various stupas, foundations of Caitya-halls at Sanchi and Sonari and the excavated Caitya-halls in the Barabar Hills (Gaya Dt., Bihar). The plan of the Barabar cave was followed in more elaborate details in the Buddhist caves of a later period at Kondvite, Salsette, W. India. These early caves show in their facade decoration a technique of stone-cutting that

1. This particular point has been ably and exhaustively discussed by prof; S. K. Saraswati in his *A Survery of Indian Sculpture*, p. 30.

is strongly reminiscent of the wood-carver's or ivory-carver's style. All these Maurya shrines are excavated in the hardest rock but are exquisitely polished like glass inside. In the architectural type these early caves exhibit the architectonic peculiarities of early Christian church architecture. The simplest form of these cave-shrines consisted of a circular cella preceded by a hall of assembly or approach (technically called maṇḍapa or porch). Scholars have traced the influence of the early Buddhist architectonic style of the cave-temples in the early Christian Church architecture. As Coomarswamy observes, "It is quite possible and even probable that the circular and apsidal plans of early Christian Church architecture were of eastern origin and perhaps even of Indian origin. When practically a whole monastic system was copied as happened in the case of Coptic Christianity, the adoption of an architectural formulae may well have taken place."[1]

When we come to the Śunga period, Buddhism had already made a headway and thanks to the royal zeal of Aśoka the message of the Master had penetrated to the ordinary people of his empire. Freed from the dominating and aristocratic influence of the king and the court the art reaches a larger section of the people. As a result of Aśoka's patronage, the religion of the Buddha spread far and wide and the religious zeal that was the consequence, found bold expression in the period closely following that of the Mauryas, in remarkable artistic achievements distributed throughout the country.

The Śunga period has been called—the beginning of the early classical period which was to culminate in the finished classicism of the Gupta and the post-Gupta period. Buddhism was the mainspring and motive-force of the popular wide-spread art-movement which had prolific centres of activity both in the north and in the south.

In the north the main activity is recognized in the Madhyadesa at Bharut, Sanchi, Bodhgayā. and Mathurā. In the east there was a regional school in Kalinga and in the peninsular region such centres developed in the Āndhra region.

1. A. K. Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 19.

The Śunga period marks the greatest development in narrative Buddhist art which was to play such a significant role in the dissemination of Buddhist culture in the countries of South-East Asia. It is on the gateways and railings of Sanchi and Bharut that we come across an art that is as stupendous in its conception as it is exquisite in its finish. Entire balustrades running round the stūpas of Sanchi and Bharut show bas-reliefs in wich we witness a phase of Buddhist art that is remarkable in as much as it represents "Buddhism without the Buddha."

These reliefs sculptured very low, mainly of a two-dimensional character served as the medium of communicating the Gospel of the Buddha. Mainly narrative and emblematic in character, this art follows a peculiar technique of its own. The different episodes relating to the life of the Buddha or of a Jātaka story have been very realistically carved in one and the same relief composition. The figure of the main actor in the story is shown repeatedly as the story progresses and irrespective of chronology the events or anecdotes, which are said to have occurred in the same locality are grouped together.

The sculptural reliefs mostly describe the life fo the Master with this peculiarity that the Master is never represented in visible form.

Before discussing the relief sculptures that adorn the stūpas of Bharut and Sanchi, it is proper to give an idea of a stūpa which is a typical representation of Buddhist architecture. The early form of the stupa underwent structural alterations in other countries of South-East Asia. Only Ceylon remained faithful to the old Indian architectonic prototype. The stupa (pāli thūpa, ceylonese, dagala) originally a funeral mound in the Pre-Buddhist days, later on became a symbol of the last great event of the Buddha's life, viz, the Parinirvāṇa and usually enshrined relics of the Buddha, sometimes of other teachers. These relics have been found by archaeologists in caskets or reliquaries made of crystal, gold or other material. The earliest stūpas were made of bricks or bricks and rubble covered by a masonry casing, the other types of 'stūpas' were monolithic, e. g., those found excavated in the "Caitya-Halls"-A stūpa, usually, was erected on a basement of one or more

square terraces (medhi) or "is at least surrounded by a paved square or circle for circumambulation, the terraces being approached by stairs (sopāṇa), it consists of a solid dome (aṇda or garbha) with a triple circular base, and above the dome a cubical 'mansion' or 'God's house' (harmikā), from which rises a metal mast (yaṣṭi), the base of which penetrates far into the aṇda, and this mast bears a range of symbolical parasols (chatra) and at the top a rain-vase (varṣa-sthala)."[1]

This simple form underwent elaborate structural development as ages rolled by, specially in the countries of South-East Asia and Indonesia, as is manifest by the extant specimens found in those countries. A railing—prototype of the wooden fences protecting the early caitya-vrūṣa —surrounded the entire structure. The component parts of the railing consisted of "a plinth (ālambana), uprights (thaba), with lateral sockets for the reception of the horizontal needles (sūcī) and a coping (usṇīṣa). The railed enclosure has four angled entrances and above these are often erected high and elaborate single, double or triple arches (toraṇa), both railing and arches alike closely imitating wooden prototype."[2]

The two most representative specimens of early Buddhist stupas are those discovered in Sanchi and Bharut. The Bharut reliefs which are at present housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, date from about the 2nd or 1st century B. C. These are mainly decorative and treat of a variety of subjects. Inscribed figures of guardian Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, Nāgarājas, Devatās are found in the toraṇa posts. Jātakas and scenes, from the life of the Buddha, and different types of floral, animal and monster motifs, and lotus rosettes often enclosing heads of men are represented on the railing medallions or coping. The Bharut reliefs are usually accompanied by contemporary descriptive inscriptions.

The sculptured reliefs mostly describe the incidents in the life of the Master with this peculiarity that the Buddha himself is never present. As Coomarswamy observes "It is very important to remark that in the scenes fiom the life of the Buddha (Incarnation, Nativity, Enlighten-

1 *Ibid*, p. 30.
2. *Ibid*, p. 31.

ment, etc.) the Master is never represented in human forms, but only by symbols of which the caitya-tree (Bodhi-drūma Aśvattha, pippala, ficus religiosa), umbrella (chatta) and feet (pādukā) and wheel (Dhammacakka) are the most usual."[1]

In the entire history of narrative arts the Jātakas in reliefs, engraved on the Sanchi and Bharut gateways and railings hold a unique position and from the point of view of technique, they can be said to represent the high watermark of the stone-engraver's art. The Sanchi and the Bharut stupas (in their remains) afford the most complete and magnificent example of structural Buddhist architecture in India.

Voluminous works by eminent specialists have been written on the art and architecture of these stūpa-remains, We have confined ourselves here to giving a general idea of the character of Buddhist art that is exemplified in these reliefs:

The early centuries of Buddhism gave us some remarkable art-productions in the shape of the stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi, some fragmentary railings at Bodhgaya, the reliefs of Amarâvatī and the earlier caves of Eastern and Western India. During the centuries preceding the Gupta period—the classical period of India art—Buddhist art had developed a technique and medium of its own. Certain art-motifs were evolved that were to remain a permanent feature of Indian and Indo-Asian art.

The appearance of the image of the Buddha in Indian art is one of the pivotal points in the history of Buddhist art and has been the subject of much controversy among the Western and Asiatic scholars. The missionary activities initiated by Asoka did not fail to reach the North-Western borders of India, i. e, the region generally known as Gandhâra, the country embracing the North-Western provinces of India and part of Afghanistan. This region situated close to the N. Western gates of India was open to foreign contacts and influences from times immemorial. The Persians, the Greeks, the Sakas, the Pahlavas, the Kushāṇas, etc., came and settled there and the result was the evolution of a hy-

1 *Ibid*, p. 31.

brid-school of art, known as the Gandhāra or better the Graceo-Buddhist school of art. Buddhism spread into this region at an early date and it was through its medium that the members of a foreign race became gradually Indianized. The influence of Buddhism is deeply traceable in the Gandhāra school of art. The technique employed is unquestionably borrowed from Hellenistic standards modified by Iranian and Scythian trends but the theme depicted are unquestionably Indian, also exclusively Buddhist. Fundamentally Buddhist the Gandhāra school spread to far countries wherever the religion was established and its influence upon the art of Central Asia, was considerable. The importance of this school lies, according to some scholars, in the revolutionary procedure of representing for the first time the image of the Buddha.

The Hellenistic sculptors had no scriptural bias, forbidding them to represent the Master in human form. Hence in the products of the Gandhāra school we come across some fine specimens of the images of Buddha executed according to the canons of Greek art, though they follow in the main all the iconographical peculiarities that are visible in the Buddhist images of the later periods. Some scholars unduly emphasize the Greek influence on Gandhāra art and go so far as to hold that the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha owed its origin to the genius of the Hellenistic sculptors. But as Prof. Saraswati observes "Though bearing all the iconographic marks and traits of the Indian tradition the Buddha of Gandhara is rendered in terms of divine figures of the Graceo-Roman pantheon and with such features as are wholly foreign to Indian notions."[1] Due to an accident of preservations, so far as extant remains are concerned the Gandhāra Buddha might have been prior in date but as Dr. Kramrisch significantly observes, "in no case does priority establish a claim of the Gandhāran type as the origin of the Buddha image." [2]

With the coming of the Gupta age we really enter into the classical phase in Indian art. This age—called the golden period of Indian

1. S. K. Sarswati, *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-3.
2. *Ibid*, p. 74.

history—marks also the efflorescence of the Buddhist art. The Buddha images of this period bear unmistakable stamp of a master-craftsman. The foreign trends, that had crept in the Indian art due to the influence of the Gandhāra idiom, are eliminated and we come across an art that is genuinely Indian both in technique and form. In the early phases of Buddhism, specially in the railings of Bharut and Sanchi, the human figures appear in the composition as a part of nature, as a part of the vegetal and animal motifs that are the chief characteristics of the early Buddhist art. In the early products of the Mathurā and Amarāvatī school human form as a separate entity is given importance. It has now an exclusive existence apart from and independent of the world of vegetation. The human figure becomes the central motif in the bas-reliefs and as such is invested with a special importance. In the Gupta period the idea of the divine image has, for the first time, been conceived in terms of the human form. The image becomes the 'vehicle of the invisible divine concept.' With the increasingly importance of the human figure, nature recedes into the back-ground, but lends its rythm to the human form rendered in plastic terms.

The image therefore becomes the pivot of the Gupta sculpture. In the Gupta Buddhist art we find Buddha as the central theme and we also notice the iconographical features, like the handposes (mudrās), which play a significant role in symbolic art.

Apart from its symbolism Gupta art transfers each 'mudrā' into an elegant artistic motif, with its special spiritual message to convey. Some handposes or 'mudrās' peculiar to the images of the Buddha assume a special importance. These are the 'dhyāna-mudrā' (also known as the 'samādhimudrā)', the 'bhūmisparśamudrā', the 'dharmacakrapravartanamudrā', the 'abhaya' and the 'varada mudra'. Rene Grousset, a renowned French critic remarks, "The whole of the great peace of Buddhism is contained in the gesture known as 'Dhyānamudra'. The whole of the Blessed One's 'power of gentleness' is revealed in the 'abhayamudrā', [1]

1. *Ibid*, p. 130.

To the Gupta period belong the two most important plastic mediums termed as the Mathurā and Sāranāth schools respectively. These schools represent the perfection of sculptural technique that was reached in the Gupta period. The Sarnath school is a marked improvement on the Mathura school as is exemplified in the extant images of both the mediums available to us. The Mathura images show a faint legacy of the heavy Kuṣhāṇa style, but the Sarntah style shows more elegance and in its sensitive treatment of the image far excels the technique of the Mathura sculptors. Among the images of the Sarnath school, "the sublime image of the Master represented in the act of turning the wheel of Law (i.e., preaching the first sermon) is admittedly one of the masterly creations of the Gupta classical sculpture." [1]

The excavating of the cave-temples had begun in the early centuries of the Christian Era or a bit earlier. Some of the early caves have already been referred to. These cave-temples in the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods show an elaborate development of the earlier style. These caves of the Gupta and the Post-Gupta periods, in significant contrast to the earlier ones, bear innumerable figures of the Buddha, either standing or seated, in the facades or inside the caitya-halls, and in the monastic caves. The 'cave-temples' are the unique contribution of Buddhism to Indian art and of "over twelve hundred 'cave-temples' in India, not more than a hundred are Brahminical, while nine hundred are Buddhist and the remainder Jain." [2]

Even the votive 'caityas' of the later period bear on front-sides the images of the Master. The reliefs of the Buddhist caves of this phase at Ajanta, Karle, Aurangabad, Kanheri, etc., bear a close affinity to the Sarnath school. The name of Ajanta is specially important in the history of Buddhist art not only for its remarkable cave-temples, but also for the first available traces of Buddhist painting that have

1- Ibid, p. 135.
2. A. K. Coomarswamy, *Op. Cit.*, p. 97,

been found there. The paintings depict mostly the life-cycles of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva as described in the Jātakas and Avadānas and are executed with a skill that is truly masterly. The colour-sense and the plastic quality of the paintings at once enthralls the spectators and the enduring quality of the subject matter captivates their imagination. Despite the ravages of centuries the paintings retain the brilliance of colour as is apparent to every casual visitor of the Ajanta caves.

After the decline of the Guptas as a political power, regionalism developed in India in the political field and it had its repercussion in the domain of fine arts also. Local and provincial styles in art developed, each style exhibiting its peculiar idiosyncracies. The early phase of Buddhist art of which the motive force was Theravada Buddhism gave way to the more elaborate and ornamental art of the Eastern Indian school; of the late Gupta and Pāla period. By this time Mahāyāna Buddhism with its later ramifications represented by the Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna schools made its appearance and the primitive or early form of Buddhism were undergoing a rapid transformation. The Eastern Indian school of art which originated in Bengal and Magadha influenced the Buddhist art of Indonesia on the one hand and that of Nepal and Tibet on the other.

A correct estimate of the influence of Buddhism on Indian art cannot be obtained unless we take into account the art that was inspired by Buddhism in those countries which came into cultural contact with India. The subject is too vast for the limited space at our disposal. Eminent specialists both European and Indian working on their respective fields have written volumes about them. Here we shall touch on some salient points. Buddhism has been divided into two broad divisions, the Southern and the Northern types. This broad division has been made with reference to the geographical routes taken by Buddhism in the course of its expansion. The; Southern school is mainly confined to Ceylon, Burma and the major countries of South-East Asia, while the Northern school includes in its orbit, Nepal, Tibet, Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Far-East.

The earliest Indian types of stūpas find their counter-parts in the Buddhist architecture of Ceylon. The early Buddhist stūpas of Ceylon represent the artistic tradition of Bharut and Sanchi. The earliest structures that are still extant in Ceylon are stupas or 'dagabas', as they are called. Most of them belong to a period between the third and the first century B. C. These represent early Indian hemispherical stupa type in its original purity and are mostly found at Anurādhapura which was the greatest centre of Theravāda Buddhism in Ceylon in the early periods of the Christian Era. The more important stūpas of Ceylon are Thūpārāma (244 B. C.), Mahaseya built by Devānampiya Tissa, a contemporary of Aśoka in 243 B. C , the Ruanweli built by the famous king Dutthagamani and completed by his successor (77-59 B.C.).

The Buddhist art of Ceylon has produced a master-piece in the colossal seated image of the Master, known as the Anurādhapura Buddha. This seated image of the Buddha has been ranked among the finest creations of Buddhist art.

The Ajanta school of painting has influenced the frescoes of Sigiriya (5th C. A. D.)—a natural fortress built on rock by Kassapa I (479-497 A. D.). In several bronze images of the Buddha, the classical Gupta idiom is traceable.

In Burma, we come across an elaborate modification of the stūpa type that originated in India during the earliest phases of Buddhist architecture. The 'pagodas' (as the stupas are called in Burma) represented a happy synthesis of two independent artistic traditions of India. While the base of the pagodas follows the architectural type of the Indian stūpas the upper portion soaring to a great height ends in a spire in the manner of the "Śikhara" variety of temples in Northern India.

The earlier stupas of Burma show a cylindrical or bulbuous type resembling the Dhamekh stūpa at Sarnath.

King Anawrahta (1044-1077 A. D.) of Pagan, who has justly been called the Aśoka of Burmese Buddhism, was famous for his

architectural activities. Remains of more than 5000 'pagodas' can still be traced in and near Pagan. The most important of them are according to Coomarswamy, the Kyanzittha cave temple (1057-1059), Shwezigon (1059), Ananda (1082-1090), Sapada, the Thatbinñyu (12th century) and the Mahābodhi Kondawgyi and Mingalazedi (13th century). Some of these pagodas, like Ananda, Shwezigon, etc. are famous for their glazed terracotta bricks illustrating the Jātakas. The architectural forms exhibit different cultural contacts, the votive stupas of the Pāla period from India as also the hemispherical early Simhalese types are found equally represented in the Buddhist architecture of Burma. Classical Burmese sculpture is best represented by the eighty-one reliefs of the Ānanda Pagoda, which portray scenes from the life of the Buddha according to the Avidūre Nidāna in the Lalita-Vistara. Several of the Pagan pagodas contain contemporary frescoes with the Jātakas as their subject matter. The Jātaka tales were familiar motifs in the Buddhist art of most of the South-East Asiatic countries and their influence on the folk-culture of these countries is still noticable.

Thailand, one of the major South-East Asiatic countries subscribing to the Theravada doctrine also contains some remarkable specimens of Buddhist art. Thailand (Siam) was open to the Laotian and Khmer influence from very ancient times as these two kingdoms were on her border. The Sukhotai kingdom imbibed the Buddhist culture from India through the intermediary of the khmers on the South and the Thai-Buddhist art at its best exhibit the Indian-Gupta and Khmer characteristics. Ceylonese influence was also at work, as there was intercourse between the Râmañña kingdom of Thai and Ceylon, both being two most prominent centres of Theravada Buddhism in the early mediaeval period.

The Jātaka engravings of Wat Si Dun are ascribed to the reign of Suryavamsa Mahadhammarajadhiraja (1388).

These engravings or more properly outline dwawings on stone on the one hand show us Siamese peculiarities in technique, and on th other they also exhibit a very close artistic affinity with that of th.

Jataka frescoes of Polonnaurva in Ceylon, dateable in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.

In Cambodia—the abode and cradle of the Khmer civilization, Hinduism and Buddhism flourished intermittently, sometime side by side. In the 5th century A.D. Buddhism was predominant in Cambodia. After a period of obscurity at the end of the 11th century under Jayavarman VII Buddhism of the Mahayana variety became the state religion, but during the latter half of the 13th century the Hinayāna or more specially Pali Buddhism triumphed and it became the dominant religion of the kingdom and continued to be so till the modern period. Although Buddhism had to contend with rival Brahminical sects like Śaivism and Vaisnavism, in the field or art its mastery was supreme and several of the master-pieces of Kambuja art owe their origin to Buddhism.

The Buddhist images of Cambodia are too numerous to mention in detail. Images in the Mahāparinirvana pose, seated images in the meditation pose, images seated in the "European position" (i. e., with legs hanging from the seat) and images exhibiting the abhayamudrā are among the more prominent Buddha types that have been discovered in different parts of Cambodia. The most beautiful and elegant images of the Buddha are those in front of the Vat Ramlok. One Avalokiteśvara image of Rachgia is also a fine example of the art inspired by the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism.

In the middle of the eleventh century under the aegis of Sūryavarman the first Buddhist monarch of Angkor, Buddhist art assumed a new form. A Buddha image seated on the coils of Naga Mucalinda deserves special attention for the purity of its modelling and the fineness of its execution.

The second half of the twelfth century is the golden period of the Buddhist art of Cambodia. Two types of Buddha images became very popular with the Khmer sculptors. The first is the standing image of the Buddha exhibiting the 'Abhayamudra. and the second is the image of the Buddha seated in the 'Dhyānamudrā'on the coils of a Nāga. Of the Mahayana divinities represented in the Khmer art Avalokitesvara and

his female counterpart Prajñpāramitā-one of the most important deities of the Mahāyāna pantheon—are the most common ones. Regarding it a competent French scholar writes, "La spiritualité bouddhique illumine tous ces visages. Le sourire interieur, le celebré "Sourire du Bayon", est souvent esquissed, une maniere imperceptible, it est l 'expression d'une meditation heureuse, du detachment de ce qui est transitoire, mais aussi d'une pitie immense pour tout ce qui souffre."[1]. (Buddhist spirituality illumines all these images. The inner smile, the famous 'Bayon Smile" is often outlined in an imperceptible manner, it is the expression of a blissful meditation of detachment from what is transitory, but also of an immense pity for all who suffer.)

Campā, the land of the Cams and the Indo—Cam civilization corresponds to the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The peculiar geographical configuration of Campā subjected it to the simultaneous influences of two strong cultural streams the Indian and the Chinese. Although the Brahminical Śaiva element was preponderant in the art of ancient Campā, Buddhism was not slow in making its influence felt in Campā. Indravarman whose date has been ascribed to the end of the 9th century A. D. was apparently a Buddhist and founded the great Buddhist shrine at Dong—Duong, in honour of Lokeśvara, about 900 A. D. Dong—Duong is the only Buddhist site in Campa but it is no less inferior to other famous Brahminical monuments of Indo—China.

"A noteworthy discovery here," writes Ananda K. Coomarswamy, "was that of a bronze standing Buddha in style very near that of Amarāvatī and Anurādhapura, this figure indeed is very probably of Indian or Simhalese origin and may date from the third or fourth century."[2]

In Indonesia—the region comprised by Java and Sumatra—we come across an art which is somewhat different in character and form from the Buddhist art of the South—East Asian countries proper. Duringthe glorious period of Buddhist art in Java and Sumatra, Buddhism itself had undergone radical transformation in the mainland. The simple and rather primitive Theravāda doctrine had given way to the more sophisticated philosophical schools of the Mahāyana with 'its hierarchy

1. Madeleine Giteau, *De L' influence du Bouddhisme sur l' art Khmer*, pp. 9-10,
2. A. K Coomarswamy, *op. Cit*, p. 197.

of gods and goddesses.' The Mahāyāna system in its turn, particularly in the early mediaeval period, branched off into so many off-shoots like Vajrayāna, Tantrayāna,·Mahāyaña, etc. These schools mostly originated in Eastern India and spread gradually to Indonesia in the south and to Nepal and Tibet in the north.

Both Sumatra and Java were highly developed centres of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the 5th century A. D. The Kashmir prince Guṅāvarman converted the queen of Yavadipa to Mahāyāna Buddhism in the early quarter of the 5th century A. D. and thus it became the official cult of the kingdom.

The Sailendra dynasty of Sumatra which held sway over Java, was a Buddhist dynasty and the kingdom of Srivijaya during the early mediaeval period enjoyed a great prestige as a maritime empire. Balaputra deva—a king of the Śailendra dynasty requested king Devapāla for the construction of a monastery at Nālandā, as we know from the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla of about 860 A. D. Cuḍāmaṅivarman—another Sailendra king endowed and supported a Buddhist temple at Negapattam (Nāgipattanam in South India). It should be noticed, however, that in Indonesia as in South-East Asia Mahāyāna Buddhism had to contend with Śaivism which was a powerful Brahminical cult in S. E. Asia. But there was no animosity between the rival sects and an attempt at rapprochément was made as the Śiva-Buddha cult in Java seems to suggest. In Sumatra and Java have been discovered some remarkable specimens of Buddhist art and architecture. Among the Buddhist monuments erected by the king of the Sailendra dynasty in Middle-Java during the period c. 732-860 A. D., the foremost place should be offered to Caṇḍi Borobudur.

This is certainly the greatest monument of Indo-Javaneses art and an immortal tribute to the artistic genius of a gifted people inspired by Buddhism. The entire structure of Borobudur has been fashioned out of a single hill. "A rounded hill has been terraced and clothed with stone; the result is a truncated pyramid supporting a relatively small central stupa surrounded by seventytwo much smaller perforated tūpas arranged in three concentric circles; a stairway in the middle of each side of the pyramid leads to the upper platform with the stūpa".[1]

1. *Ibid*, p. 204.

The entire structure consists of a series of nine successive terraces, each receding from the one beneath it and the whole is crowned by a bell-shaped stūpa on the centre of the topmost terrace. Of the nine terraces the six lower ones are square in plan while the three upper ones are encircled by a ring of stūpas each containing an image of the Buddha.

The monument has been called a stupa for convenience though it exhibits in its structural details the architectonic peculiarities of both a temple and a stūpa. But the special feature of Borobudur is the series of sculptured panels decorating the walls of the eleven galleries—numbering a total of 1500. Most of the panels describe the early life of the Master based on Lalitavistara and other texts and there are illustrations of the Jātaka scenes also. All these have been executed with such a wealth of details, such an artistic finish that Borobudur can, without hesitation, be pronounced as one of the best specimens of the art of the world. The influence of Gupta idiom is apparent in the sculptured reliefs of the panel, as is clear from the linear treatment and general composition of these remarkable bas-reliefs.

The Borobudur is the brightest gem of Indo-Javanese Buddhist art and it is not possible here to discuss in details the architectural sculptural and features of this wonderful monument. Scholars and specialists have written volumes on it.

The major countries where the Buddhism of the later schools like the Mahāyāna, the Vajrayāna and the Tantrayāna (i. e. Northern Buddhism) expressed itself in art are Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet, Central Asia, China and Japan.

The Buddhist art of the Far-East, comprising China and Japan is somewhat different from the art of other countries influenced by Buddhism. Both China and Japan had highly developed cultural and artistic traditions of their own and hence the influence of Buddhism, which is apparent, is somewhat obscured by the artistic genius of the native artists.

The Buddhist art of the Far—Eastern countries occupies a separate and distinct chapter in the history of Asiatic art. We shall

here discuss some important specimens of the Buddhist art of Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Central Asia-specimens which exhibit some interesting stylistic modifications of the Buddhistic sculptural and pictorial art.

Kashmir formed a partof the dominions of Asoka, of Kanishka and Huvishka, and was for a time dependency of the Gupta empire, but by the time of Harṣa it emerged as an independent polotical power controlling Taxila, much of the Sindh valley and the Punjab Himalayas.

The eighth and ninth centuries are the classical period of Kashmir culture. In about 431 A. D. Guṇavarman a prince of Kashmir travelled as Buddhist missionary to Samarkand and China. At Uskur (Huviska-pura) near Baramula pass, have been found the remains of a stūpa and terracotta and stucco fragments in the Indianised late Gandhara style. The old capital of Pandrenthan (Puranādhisthana) near Śrīnagar have yielded Buddhist remains, chiefly in the form of sculpture, the most important amongst which are several standing and seated images of the Buddha, an Avalokiteśvara image and a Lumbini-garden—nativity in the Sarnath style. Remains of a magnificient Buddhist stūpa, strongly resembling the style of Borobudur, have been discovered at Parihāsa-pura, the new capital founded by Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa in the 8th century. A number of interesting Buddhist bronzes have been found in Kashmir, the most remarkable being "a fine group representing Padmapāni accompanied by two Śaktis, with an inscription of the reign of queen Diddā (983-1003 A. D.) showing that Buddhism survived at least until the eleventh century."[1]

The isolated and rather inaccessible Himalayan valley of Nepal also came under the influence of Buddhism which moulded and inspired the artistic activities of the valley. Great antiquity is ascribed to the Nepalese stupas, four at Patan having been founded according to tradition by Asoka.

These four are still intact and stylistically show the old Indian hemispherical type. In Nepal later forms of Buddhism specially of the Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna variety held their sway during the middle

1 *Ibid*, p. 142.

ages and the result was a wonderful development of the art of metal-casting. Nepalese Buddhist art is best known by the metal images usually of copper and brass and dateable in the 10th century A: D. Some of the best specimens are found in the museum of fine arts, Boston, U. S. A.

About the bronzes Coomarswamy writes "The standing Avalokiteśvara of copper gilt is perhaps the best of all known bronzes that can be definitely classed as Nepalese, it illustrates a Nepalese peculiarity rarely seen in Indian works, that of inlay with precious stones, garnet and turquoise, but in style it is very near to Indian types, and is more suggestive of a late Gupta than of the contemporary Pala styles of the Ganges valley."[1]

In Nepal a school of Buddhist painting developed, a school that was closely affiliated to the Pala school of sculpture and spread to Tibet. Most of these paintings are to be seen in illustrated Nepalese Mss of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajnā-pāṛamita. On the painted cover of one of these Mss are four extremely beautiful representations of the Vessantara Jataka.

Nepal has created a class of paintings called the 'tanka paintings'. These are painted on temple-banners and show a variety of subjects vigorously depicted. Tibetan Buddhist art also bears the stamp of the artistic tradition of Buddhist Nepal. It was through one of the Nepalese princesses who was married to king Sron-btsansgam-po (born in 617 A.D.) that Buddhism was first introduced into Tibet. Tibet was open to the influences of two great artistic traditions one coming from India through Buddhist Nepal and the other from China. Tibetan Buddhist art is mainly confined to the Buddhist paintings and bronzes. The paintings are mostly votive temple-banners. These depict a variety of subjects, viz., scenes from the life of the Buddha, Dhyāni Buddhas, the Boddhisattvas and Tāras and fierce world guardians.

Another group represents a vast series of local saints including Padmasambhava the founder of a mystic school of Buddhism in Tibet.

1. *Ibid*, p. 145.

The Tibetan Buddhist art of the later period, speciâlised in creating in painting and sculpture, terrific and demoniac types, which, strange to say, are quite foreign to the gentle spirit of Buddhism.

Chineses Turkestan or more properly Central Asia has been from very ancient times a centre of Buddhism. Central Asian art was strongly influenced by the Graceo-Buddhist art of Gandhara. In all the chief cultural outposts which lay along the Central Asian routes leading to China, such as Bamiyan, Bactria, Khotan, Miran, Kuca Turfan and Tun-Huang, archaeologists have discovered remains of Buddhist grottoes, sculptures, paintings, etc. which bear testimony to the great efforts made by Buddhist India to bind all the countries with lasting ties of cultural relationship. In some of the stupas remains of Buddhist frescoes have been discovered, strongly reminiscent of the style of Ajanta depicting familiar Buddhist subjects like the Vessantara Jataka. A variety of the Indian prakrit language and two Indian scripts, Brahmi and Kharosthi are also met with in the Mss remains of Chinese Turkestan. Some colossal images of the Buddha, in standing pose, have also been discovered in some of the grottoes of Central Asia.

The most wonderful specimens of the Buddhist caves of Central Asia are those found at Tun-Huang. In the grottoes of a cave – called the cave of the thousand Buddhas--have been discovered scroll-paintings which have escaped the ravages of time. These paintings though predominantly Buddhist in motif show a synthesis of four different artistic trends, viz., Indian, Iranian, Hellenic and Chinese. Tun-Huang is situated on one of the ancient inland trade-routes, at a point where the four great cultural streams referred to blend. The art of Central Asia, is thus, on the main, a synthetic art in which different artistic styles—product of different cultural traditions---have found their fullest expression. But the difference is only apparent "leit-motif" in all these art-products is predominantly Buddhist.

This brief survey of the Indian Buddhist art---an art which extended beyond the geographical horizons of India proper attempts to demonstrate the deep influence that Indian Buddhism exerted on the

figurative and plastic art of India and of "Indian Asia." Indeed indebtedness of Indian art to Buddhism is immense. Religion, everywhere in the world, has been responsible for the growth of fine arts as history demonstrates. Throughout a period of nearly two-thousand years Buddhism has been the mainspring of Indian art, whether in painting, in the field of narrative and decorative art or in sculpture and architecture, the influence exerted by Buddhism has been deep and abiding.

Art is the mirror of a nation's inner spiritual life and also the yardstick of its cultural achievements. The influence of the philosophy and religion of the Buddha on the people of India and the neighbouring Asiatic countries is too significant a fact to be overlooked. The artists were enthused with a tremendous religious ardour, which resulted in the creation of an art that can be justly regared as the proudest heritage of any nation in any age.



Some Buddhist Symbols On Punch-Marked Coins

Dr. C. S. Upasak

Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda

Plants, birds, geometrical designs, religious symbols and personifications etc. are commonly marked on the coins all over the world. In India, the earliest coins, usually called the 'punch-marked coins' bear numerous symbols or marks but no legend or figure of a king. And so these coins were called 'punch-marked' by the numismatists. The marks or symbols vary a great deal, and the total number of these marks is more than two hundred. These symbols or marks have been carefully studied and dealt with by scholars; and some have been interpreted and sometimes utilised to fix the chronology of these coins, although by no means finally. It is also remarkable to note that these symbols are no less important to understand the periodic pictoral art of the country as represented on them.

A large number of these coins have been discovered in various parts of India, both in the North and in the South. These coins were usually made by cutting out strips from the sheets of a metal usually silver, and then small rectangular pieces were cut from these strips and finally certain symbols were incised on one or both faces by means of separate punches. Adjustment of weight was made by cutting out small bits of one or more corners of the heavier pieces in order to bring them to proper weights. Some punch-marked coins are circular in shape but they are rather less in number. There are some rectangular silver bars or bent bars. There was another method of manufacturing the copper coins with these marks. It was done by pouring molten metal in a mould which possessed the reverse symbols

and then impressed upon by the obverse symbols. These are usually called 'cast punch-marked' coins. The difference between the 'punch-marked' and 'cast punch-marked' coins is that while in the former the symbols are impressed by separate punches, in the latter all the symbols on the reverse were impressed by a single punch.

There is a considerable divergence of opinion among the numismatists as regards the problem as to who issued these coins and when. Once it was felt by some that these punch-marked coins were issued by the merchant guilds or corporate bodies as they bear manifold symbols, and not by any royal authority. Some thought that these were the state issues, while other scholars held that all were not state issues but some were struck by private bankers with or without the permission of any government authority.[1] However, it is now generally believed that the imperial punch-marked coins are those that are found almost throughout the length and breadth of the Indian sub-continent, and which would show uniform weight and bear five symbols on the obverse. Thus, the local or private punch-marked coins are supposed to have been issued earlier and were current in different *Janapadās* or *Mahājanapadas* before the rise of the great Mauryan empire. If the above inference be taken for granted, the local punch-marked coins may be dated earlier than the 4th century B. C. and the imperial punch-marked coins may be ascribed to a date little later than they. Some scholars believe that the rectangular silver bars or bent bar coins are the oldest in this series.[2]

In the Pali *Tipiṭaka* the reference to coins—gold, silver and copper or lead and their marks (*rūpa*) on them are well-known.[3] We need not discuss them here. But there is no doubt that religion has played an important role and has inspired people to devise religious symbols

1. D. C. Sircar : ***Studies in Indian Coins***, pp. 6-7.

2. ***Ibid.***, pp. 5-6.

3. Cf. ***Mahavagga*** (Nalanda), pp.-80-81 ; ***Dighanikaya*** (Nalanda), p. 14 etc. The word ***rupiya*** or rupee is derived on account ***rupa*** (marks) Cf. Rupiyachaddaka -bhikkhu- C.S. Upasak; ***Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms***, p. 19.

on coins. How far the marks on the punch-marked coins may be corelated with fact is a matter of our exploration.

During the life time of the Buddha his Dhamma had taken fiım root in Northern India. Kings, nobles, princes, merchants, householders and the general mass to a great extent had become devout followers of this great reformist of 6th century B. C. King Bimbisāra of Magadha, Pasenadi of Kosala, the Vajjis of Vesāli, the Mallas of Kusinārā & Pāvā, the Sākyas, the Moriyas and the Koliyas of Nepal Terai region, the wealthiest merchant Sudatta Anāthapiṇḍika of Sāvatthī, the topmost physician Jīvaka of Rājagaha and many other prominent persons adopted the new religion propounded by the Buddha and became his ardent followers. In the *Mahāvagga* it is recorded that some eleven *Hahutas* (myriad) persons of Magadha along with their king Bimbisāra declared themselves as the devotees of the Buddha on the occasion of his very first visit at Laṭṭhivanulyāna (Modern Jeṭhiyana) in Rājagaha. [1] The great personality, supernatural achievements, deep philosophy and the mode of life par excellence that the Buddha embodied had been successful to leave a lasting impact on the minds of the people of India. Records are replete with the accounts in the Pali *Tipiṭaka* that whenever and wherever ıhe Buddha went and had the occasion for discourse, he was very warmly greeted by the people and innumerable persons became his devotees. After the passing away of the Great Master his *Suddhamma* went on flourishing and reached its zenith when it received the royal patronage of the great Buddhist King 'Dhammiko Dhammarājā' Asoka. The great task of propagating the religion in the country and evangelising other countries outside India had been fulfilled by this king. Buddhism got its access in the other parts of the world on the one hand and on the other its root went very deep in the country of its origin. We are not concerned at the moment to discuss the religious efforts that Asoka did for the Dhamma and Vinaya of the Buddha. The only fact that we should bear in mind is that Asoka became out and out a Buddhist both in his faith and behaviour.

1. *Mahavagga* (Nalanda), p. 36.

Religion often occupies an important position on the surface of human behaviourism. The religious heritage or bias is reflected through manifold ways and means in the society. Kings of all countries have been zealous to imprint their religious bias mostly on their coinage and also on their epigraphic records in stones or metals. Religious or theological aptitude of a particular king can be deduced from a study of numismatics or other archaeological or literary materials.

We have said above that the punch-marked coins bear some hundreds of symbols comprising the figures of birds, animals, solar and planetary symbols, geometrical designs and even abstract human figures etc. Do these marks speak of some religious sentiments or have they been arbitrarily designed ? In the following pages we would endeavour to explore their connotations.

There are evidences to suggest that some punch-marked coins belonged to the days of the Buddha or even earlier. Such types of coins continued to be accepted as legal tender in Indian society for a number of centuries till the new types of coins bearing the legends and figures of the Greeks or Indo-greek kings were introduced sometime in the 2nd century B. C. The Indo-greeks could establish their rule and finally settled in India only when the mighty Mauryan empire became disintegrated and collapsed. The period of these punch-marked coins may, therefore, be roughly placed between 600 B. C. to 100 A. D.

There are numerous symbols on the punch-marked coins and it is indeed a difficult task to determine which of them are exclusively Buddhist symbols. We believe that some of these symbols do have something to do with Buddhism since it was a very powerful religion of the period. In the following pages we would make an attempt to point out some.

The most common mark on the punch-marked coins is the shape of early Brāhmī letter *Ma*— ♉ . Numismatists have called it, 'taurine' as they could not properly make out the meaning of this shape. It is remarkable to note that this very symbol has figured at the corners of the Separate Rock Edict I of Asoka in Jaugada.[1] In the copper-plate Inscription of Sohgaura[2] also, which is believed to have been pre-Asokan

1. E. Hultzsch : *C. I. I.*, Vol, Vol. I, plate facing p. 116.
2. *JASB* (Proceedings), 1894, p. 84; *Ibid.* 1907, p. 509 ff.; *ABORI*, Vol. XI, p. 32; *E.I.*, Vol. XXII, p. 1; *I.A.*, Vol. XXV, p. 261; I. H. Q., Vol. X. p. 54; D. C. Sircar: *Select Inscriptions*, p. 85.

by some scholars, this symbol appears. Similarly when the vases from the Piprahawa Stūpa were opened, some four golden leaves figuring like *Ma* of early Brāhmī were found along with the relics of Lord Buddha.[1] In our opinion this symbol, shaped like the Brāhmī letter *Ma*, is the first syllable of the term *Maṅgala*. *Maṅgala* is a very popular word in Pali and is used there in the sense of auspicious, lucky, prosperous, festive etc; In the *Khuddakanikāya Aṭṭhakathā* this term is explained thus : *Manaṃ galanti sattā ti maṅgalāni*, i. e. it goes straight to the mind of the people, hence *Maṅgala*[2]. In the *Suttanipāta* the famous Mahāmaṅgala Sutta occurs in which the forms of *Maṅgalās* have been elucidated[3]. There it is advised that good persons should practice them for the betterment of their livings. In his edicts Asoka has also enumerated the *Maṅgalas*[4] and called them '*Dhamma-maṅgalas*'. Observance of the *Dhamma-maṅgalas* by his subjects and his own relatives was the pious wish of this great Baddhist king. As a true and devout Buddhist, he very well understood the meaning of the *Maṅgalas*. The letter *Ma* or *Maṃ* of the term *Maṅgala* was of some significance when he used this first syllable thus— thrice in this Separate Rock Edict Jaugada

In our opinion this symbol might have been pre-Asokan and Asoka simply popularised it on his edicts and coins. The punch marked coins bearing five symbols on the obverse are usually attributed to the Mauryan period, where this *Ma* like symbol occurs. On some of the punch-marked coins *Ma*, the symbol of *Maṅgala* appears along with a *Cakra* or wheel with eight spokes— .[5] The *Cakra* may be the representation of the well-known *Dharma-cakra* or the wheel of Law of the Buddhists. The eight spokes of the *Cakra* may signify the Eightfold Path or the Middle Path (*Aṭṭhaṅgika magga or Majjhimā paṭipadā*) of the Buddha. It is also noteworthy that another Buddhist king, the Indo-Greek, Menander (Milinda) has also given this figure of *Cakra* with eight spokes on one of his copper coin varieties.[6]

1. *JRAS*, 1898, p. 5738; P. C. Mukherjee : *Antiquities in the Tarai Nepal*, p. 43.
2. *Khuddakanikāya Aṭṭhakathā* (R), p. 123.
3. *Suttanipāta*, Sutta No. 16; Also in the Khuddakapāṭha, Sutta No. 5.
4. Rock Edict IX.
5. Cf. John Allan : *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Plate IX-4.
6. A. Cunningham : *Coins of Alexandar's Successors in the East*, plate XII-13.

The *Svastika* (both the forms— 卐, 卍) is another mark which is often noticed on the punch-marked coins. Probably this is the oldest auspicious sign handed down till today for centuries from the hoary past in the Indian society. The sign of *Svastika* (both forms) appears on the seals of Mohenjodaro also.[1] It next appears on the epigraphs of Asoka in his Separate Rock Edict I at Jaugada along with the Maṅgala symbol discussed above.[2] It is also interesting to note that the *Svastika* sign is also found imprinted on some gold leaves found in the vases of Piprahawa Stūpa mentioned above. Two such gold leaves with *Svastika* symbol were there.[3]

In our indeavour to make out its meaning, palaeography may come to our help. The earliest script of our country is Brāhmi which appears for the first time on the Asokan inscriptions and that also in its finished form.[4] It is also conjectured that the Indus Valley Script might have been the parent of this script[5]. The form of *Svastika*, if given to be interpreted through the Brāhmi, is made of four letters of *Pu*— ㄩ . When the syllable *Pu* is written in early Brāhmī and placed together from all the directions— up, down, right and left—, it would become a *Svastika*— 卐, ; and the syllable *Pu*, can be distinguished from any angle.[6] The syllable *Pu*, in our opinion, is the first syllable of the word *Puṇya* (*Puñña* in Pali). It is very likely that this *Svastika* symbol might have carried some auspicious meaning even in the pre-Buddhistic days. *Puṇya* or *Puñña* means merit, meritorious action, virtue etc. In Pali literature *Puñña* is always regarded as the foundation and condition or heavenly birth and future blissful state, the enjoyment of which depends upon the amount of *Puñña* or merit accumulated in the former existence. With reference to this life there

1. Marshall : *Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 374, plate No. 114, Nos. 500-515.
2. *OP. cit.*
3. *Op. cit.*
4. Cf. C. S. Upasak : *History & Palaeography of Mauryan Brāhmī Script*, pp. 14-22.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

are especially three qualities contributing to merit, viz. *Dāna* (liberality), *Sīla* (moral conduct) and *Bhāvanā* (contemplation). The opposite of *Puñña* (Skt. *Puṇya*) is *Apuñña* or *Pāpa* (demerit). According to Buddhism, *Puñña* is the basis of a 'good life'. It is evident from the Pali literature that the Buddhists have always been advised to promote the 'good' in order to acquire *Puñña* or merit. A devout Buddhist as he was, Asoka has preached the 'good' throughout his edicts in order to earn merit. He took up the *Svastika* symbol of *Puñña* out of religious and moral zeal and he got it inscribed along with his *Dhammalipi* at Jaugada. The punch marked coins which bear the *Svastika* symbol may belong to the time of Asoka; and, probably to popularise this Puñña symbol of *Svastika*, he got it marked on his coins which were undoubtedly the punch-marked type of coins.

The other mark which is noticed on the punch-marked coins is the triascle— . This symbol may also be attributed to the Buddhist tradition. This mark probably represents the 'Three Jewels' or *Triratana* of the Buddhists, viz, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. In the Pali Texts the term '*Tiratana*' or three jewels is often quoted with great reverence. In the *Suttanipāta*[1] and also in this *Khuddakapāṭha*[2] the famous *Ratana-sutta* has preached in praise of these three jewels. The three *Ratanas* or the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha have been referred to by Asoka with great reverence in his famous theocratic Bhabru Slab Edict[3] (line 2).

Asoka has also got this symbol of triascle inscribed in the Minor Rock Edicts discovered from Erraguḍḍi, Jatinga Rameshwar and Rajula Maṇṇdagiri.[4] Similarly the gold leaves representing the triascle or *Tiratana* were also enshrined along with the relics of the Buddha in the Piprahwa Stūpa.[5] This symbol of triascle appears on the punch-marked coins sometimes alone and sometimes along with other marks.[6]. Another variety of this symbol is represented thus—  .[7] Sometimes it

1. *Suttanipāta*, Sutta No. 13.
2. *Khuddakapāṭha*, Sutta No: 6.
3. E. Hultzsch--*C.I.I.*, vol., p. 172.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
5. Op. cit.
6. Johan Allan--*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Plate lxxvi, 98 and II-1, 3, VII-2, 18 etc.
7. *Ibid.*, Plate X-18, V-7, 15, 16 etc.

appears with the elephant. It is well-known that the elephant is regarded as one of the symbols representing the Buddha. The elephant's imprint on a gold leaf was found from the Piprahawa vases along with other auspicious symbols.[1] On the Kalsi Rock Edict of Asoka a line scratch of elephant is noticed wherein the word '*Gajatame*' (Elephant par Excellence, i e. Buddha) is incised[2] Similarly a full figure of elephant is hewn out of the rock near the Asokan edict at Dhauli in Orissa.[3] The triascle with the elephant on the punch-marked coins provides us a solid support for suggestion to regard it as a Buddhist auspicious symbol and leaves little doubt for any other interpretation.

A number of punch marked coins bears the so called 'hill symbol with crescent', which is usually represented thus—  . Some minor varieties of this symbol are also noticed. It has been interpreted in many ways. Dr. K. P. Jaiswal has shown a great ingenuity in interpreting it. Basing his conclusion on far-fetched palaeographic evidence, he has interpreted it as an abbreviation of Candagutta (Candragupta), the founder of the Mauryan empire. He believes the top crescent to be *Candra* and the remaining—the hill-like combination, to be *gutta*—the upper loop for letter *Ga* and the lower two for *tta* in Brāhmī.[4] The interpretation of Dr. Jaiswal looks fascinating but it is undoubtedly a highly speculative inference. We have reason to believe that this symbol is the representation of three full size stūpas crowned with a half size stūpa like a *Chatra* at the top. The Buddhist texts, particularly the pali texts, are replete with the references to the stūpas or *caityas* with their religious significance.[5] It has been a Buddhist tradition to raise a stūpa enshrining the body relics of the Buddha or those of his disciples or even those of the Arhatas. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīghanikāya relates the tradition of raising the stūpas enshrining the body relics of great persons like the Buddha or of a Cakhavatti (paramount) king.[6] The quarrel that arose amongst the kings on the distribution of the bone relics of the Buddha is also described there. Construction of stūpas on the relics of the Buddha was

1. Op. cit.
2. Op. cit.
3. Op. cit.
4. *E. I.*, Vol. XXII, p. 3.
5. Cf. C. S. Upasak--*Cetiyas in Pali Literature, JBRS*. Vol. XLVII--Parts I-IV (1961) pp. 116-123.
6. *Dīghanikāya* (nalanda), xx. Vol. II, pp. 110-111 Also Cf. *Milindapañha*, p.

undoubtedly regarded as a meritorious act. In the Mahāvaṃsa it is said that stūpa worship was popular in the country.[1] The three stūpa symbols on the punch marked coins can well be associated with Buddhism. The three stūpas may probably be in the name of the three jewels—Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, as we have seen above with reference to the triascle symbol. The stūpas in ancient days used to be adorned with the *Chatra.*[2] The top crescent like mark may be the crown of the stūpa.

One of the varieties of this symbol is noticed as placed under one large stūpa thus [3] A stūpa inside a stūpa is called *Kañcuka stūpa*. The most towering Saṛiputta stūpa at Nalanda is a *Kañcuka stūpa* built seven times by covering one stūpa with another without disturbing the earlier structures. The present form of the symbol on the puuch-marked coins represents a *Kañcuka stūpa.* There were some other varieties of this symbol. Sometimes this is crowned with a peacock instead of a crescent mark and sometimes with some other animals and sometimes it remains without any crowning object. We also notice the mark of three separate stūpas along with an elephant figur thus :



and an elephant[4], This also may lead one to subscribe to our opinion that this symbol was concerned with the Buddhist tradition.

The punch-marked coins bearing the five symbols often include the mark of 'tree in railing'—



It is needless to stress that tree worship was a pre-Buddhist tradition in Indian society as it also appears in the Indus Valley Culture.[5] In the Pali literature we find the reference to *Rukkha cetiyas.*[6] The Pipala tree under which the Buddha attained his Enlightenment at Bodh Gaya got the name of Bodhi tree and has been an object of veneration in the Buddhist world for cen-

1. *Mahāvamsa,* Chapter V, Gāthā No. 82. cf. *Mahāvamsatika* (Nalanda) p. 169.
2. Cf. The Sanchi Stūpa.
3. *B. M C.,* op cit., Plate XXXV--78.
4. *op cit. B.M.C.,* plate XXXV, LXVIII-82.
5. Marshall--*op. cit.,* M. Vol. I, pp. 63-66.
6 Cf. C. S. Upasak--*Cetiyas in Pali Literature, JBRS*. Vol. P.

turies till today. Who knows if the introduction of the tree in railing on the coins was not first done by Asoka himself in honour of that tree ? Probably Asoka was the first king to introduce the tree in railing on the coins in honour of that sacred tree.

There are many other marks on the punch-marked coins which await our interpretations. Many marks are mostly on the reverse side, and they might have been mercantile or mint marks. But local traditions, religious bias and such other factors might have been responsible for the imprints of so many objects on these most ancient coins of India.

Prakrit Research Institute

BASUKUND (VAISHALI)

In 1952 Vaishali sangh passed a resolution to establish an Institute at Vaishali for the study of Prakrit and Jainology: Initial schemes were drawn by Shree J. C. Mathur, I.C.S., secretary of the Sangh and approved by Dr. Shree Krishna Singh, the then Chief Minister of Bihar and the president of the Sangh. Consequently the Institute came into existence in the year 1955.

Sahu Shri Shanti Prasad Jain made a liberal donation of Rs. 6·25 lacs for meetings the initial non-recurring costs of establishment. Foundation stone of the main building of the Institute was laid by late Dr. Rajendra Prasad in 1955 at Basokund identified with Kundagram, the birth place of lord Mahavira. In the mean time the Institute began to function at Muzaffarpur in a rented house. It was shifted to its permanent site in 1965.

Since the Institute began its effective functioning, 15 batches of M.A. students have passed out of its portals. 17 batches of oriental scholors also successfully completed their B. A. special English course which made them eligible for taking up M. A. course of the Institute. The Institute has come off with flying colours in the field of research by enrolling as many as 36 research scholars amongst whom 24 scholars have successfully completed their research work at the Institute and have been awarded the Ph. D. degree by Bihar University. The Institute has so far published 17 books on various subjects in the field of Prakrit and Jainology.

Publication of the Research Institute of Parakrit, Jainology & Ahimsa At a glance

1. Sudaṁsaṇa Cariu : Edited by Dr. H. L. Jain.

The text of Sudaṁsaṇacariu, a very interesting kāvya in Apabhraṁśā, has been critically edited by Dr. H. L. Jain who is a name in the field of Apabhraṁśa. The editor has introduced the book in a learned preface and has appended an exhaustive gloss at the end.

The book is published for the first time.

1970 Royal Octavo 321 Rs. 10.60

2. A critical study of the Paumacariyaṁ

by Dr. K. R. Chandra

Paumacariyaṁ is the oldest extant Jain Version of the Rāmāyaṇa. The author in this book has critically appreciated and evaluated this great epic with admirable acumen and literary taste. He has exhaustively dealt with the cultural aspects of this epic.

1970 Royal Octavo xxviii-641 Rs. 21-50

3. English Translation of the Aṇuyogaddāraiṁ

By Mr. T. Hanaki

It is a faithful English rendering of the Aṇuyogaddāraiṁ, a very important text in the sense that it reveals the ancient method of treating a particular subject in all its aspects. The book is introduced in a learned preface by Dr. N. Tantia.

1970 Royal Octavo lxii—246 Rs. 12.00

4. Visesavasyakabhasya Part I

Edited by Dr. N. Tantia

It contains Kottyacarya's Tika with the text.

1972 Royal Octavo xii—427 Rs. 18.00

5. Prakrit Prose and Poetry Selections,

Compiled by Dr. N. Tantia & Dr. R. P. Poddar.

It contains interesting and valuable extracts from the vast range of Prakrit literature beginning from the Aśokan Inscriptions down to

the Ardhamagadhi Jaina Agamas.

1972 Royal Octavo xiii—244 Rs. 12.00

6. Raidhū Sāhitya Kā Ālocanātmaka Pariśīlana

by Dr. Raja Ram Jain.

The book is a critical study of the works of great Apabhraṁśa poet Raidhū of the 15th century A. D.

1974 Royal Octavo iii—17—z—824 Rs. 28.75

7. Studies in Buddhist and Jaina Monachism :

by Dr. N. K. Prasad.

It is a comparative and critical study of the Buddhist and the Jain Monastic discipline. The comparative view of the Buddhist Prātimokkha and the Jain Prāyaścitta is a pioneer attempt of the author which deserves attention of the readers.

1972 Royal Octavo xix—284 Rs. 15.50

8. Indian Logic, its Problems as treated by its Schools

by Dr. K. K. Dixit.

The book contains a lucid exposition of the problems of Indian Logic. It is a successful attempt to introduce a modern student of Logic to the ancient Indian's treatment of the problems pertaining to his subject.

1975 Royal Octavo xviii—246 Rs. 14.00

9. An Introduction to Karpūramañjarī

by Dr. R. P. Poddar

It contains a critical evaluation of Karpūramañjarī with text and its translation in Hindi.

1974 Royal Octavo x—218 Rs. 10.50

10. Vaishali Institute Research Bulletin No. 1

Chief editor Dr. N. Tatia

It contains the text of Nyāyāvatāra with an exposition in English by Dr. S. Mukerjee and a number of research papers.

1971 Royal Octavo vi—306-95 Rs. 15.25

11. Phonetic changes in Indo-Aryan Languages

by Dr. Sudhir Chandra Majumdar

In this book the author deals with the phonetic changes taking place in the MIA languages. He traces the links between the NIA languages and the M.I.A. ones. The book is very useful in the study of Indo Aryan Philosophy.

1974 Royal Octavo xvi—239 Rs. 16.00

12. Vaishali Institute Research Bulletin No 2.
Chief Editor Dr. G. C. Chaudhary.

The bulletin is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Hiralal Jain, Founder-Director of the Institute and a scholar of great repute in the field of Prakrit and Jainology. It contains among other important articles a comparative estimate of Saṭkhandāgama and Paṇṇavaṇā by late Dr. H. L. Jain and an exhaustive exposition of the sources of the Siddhasāhityā by Dr. N. Prasad.

1974 Royal Octavo vi—332 Rs. 14.00

India's Cultural Impact On South-East Asia.

Dr. Nagendra Prasad,
Director,
Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Vaishali

India's relationship with her neighbours in the past was more clear, stronger and intimate than what it is today. This tie is more real with the countries of South East Asia. The ancient history of the countries of this region is linked up with India by strong cultural bounds. The students of Sanskrit and Indian History are aware of Suvarṇabhūmi—(Burma), Kambuja or Kambujadesha (Combodia), Champā (Annam) and Suvarṇadvīpa (Malaya Peninsula and Malaya Archipelago). The proper name of Java was Yavadvīpa. The story of contacts between our country and these countries must be extending over centuries and this proves the courage, capacity and foresight of our ancestors. It is just possible that the Aryan people might have stepped from Asia minor into the trans-Gangetic countries like Burma, Thailand, Combodia etc. We should bear in mind the possibility of the Dravidians penetrating into Greater India. Now it has been proved by archaeologists that there are definite traces of affinity between the Dravidians and some races of South East Asia.

History records with gratitude Emperor Ashoka's devotion to Buddhism and his zeal to propagate it. Although the emissaries sent by him to the different countries provide the first definite example of Indian's going abroad, there are other examples of such contact and we can not ignore them. The discovery of a bronze statue of the Buddha of the Amarāvatī school at a neolithic site on the west coast of the island of Celebes would mean that Indians had already penetrated into Greater India by the third century A. D.[1]. Some Āndhra coins discovered round Amarāvatī show the device of a two-masted ship. The inscription discovered at the old site of Ghanṭāshālā on the Coromandel coast record the charity of an upāsikā called Siddhārthamitrā. This lady was the wife of Sivaka, a "Mahānāvika"[2]. The word

1. India and South-East Asia by Dr. B. C, Chhabra, Indo-Asian Culture, Vol, IV, Page-302.
2. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVII, Page-4.

"Mahānāvika" (master-mariner) proves that merchants used to sail to distant shores. Some other inscriptions invoke blessings for a successful voyage (Siddhā yātrāḥ santu). In the Saigon museum there are some old clay seals of the Indian merchants who had trade relation with this part of Indo-China. The merchants of India have been attracted by the wealth of those countries. When the Roman emperor Vespasian (69-79 A. D.) prohibited the out-flow of gold, the Indian traders turned for this precious metal to the countries of South-East Asia. The traders must not have gone all alone in this adventure and they must have been accompained with scholars, priests etc. Proof of this we find in the Sanskrit inscription of king Mūlavarman found on the east coast of Borneo which speaks of "Viprair ihāgataiḥ" (by the Brahmins who have come here). The Brahmins have held position of honour in the Indian society since times immemorial and so those Brāhmins who accompained the ships or boats of those days must have influenced the life and society of the countries they visited.

We have seen that Buddhism spread far and wide due to the missionary spirit of Emperor Aśoka. But much earlier than that Brāhmanism had gained a foothold in the countries of South-East Asia. The Brahmins, who accompanied the traders, took their different forms of worship to those lands. Śaivism, Vaiṣhṇavism and the cult of Agastya—these three main forms of Hinduism were prevalent at that time. The cult of Śiva or "liṅga" worship soon became in those countries. The first Śiva temple was built in Champā and it was named Bhadreśvara after the name of its builder. Bhadravarman was the king of that country at that time.[1] Similarly, the Vaprakeśvara Śiva temple of Borneo speaks of the influence of the cult of Śiva in that country. The stone slab "Praśhasti" of 732 A. D. found in central Java records,-the construction of a Śiva temple there. Statues of other Hindu deities, such as Durgā, Skanda & Ganeśa are also found in Java. Vaiṣhṇavism also spread and became very popular along with the cult of Śaivism. At first the worship of Viṣṇu was in the form of his foot-prints and later on Lord Viṣṇu was worshipped in his human form as well. There sprung up many temples which show Viṣṇu riding on his famous Garuḍa. The most congenial home for the cult of Agastya was Java. We are aware of the popularity of Agastya among the South-Indian people. In Jova his worship and popularity is wide spread. It is a well known fact the famous Angkor Vat were originally Hindu temples with images of Hindu Gods. The Siva and Viṣhṇu temples of Thailand were quite famous. At present, at Angkor Vat are to be seen the rem-

1. India and South-East Asia—Asian Culture; Vol IV, No.3, Page-304.

ains of some very splendid old Hindu temples. In some Siva temples the Linga has been removed and in some other cases it has been substituted by the figure of the Buddha. This proves that in course of time Hinduism in those countries declined and Buddhism overshadowed and overpowered it.

Dr. P. V. Bapat, the noted Buddhist scholar of India, visited the countries of South-East Asia on a cultural tour. There he came across some old Hindu temples and manuscripts. In Mandalay he saw manuscripts mostly in Bengali characters of the Ramayana and Bhāgvata Daśamaskandha (On Rāsa Krīḍā). It is to be noted that these Sanskrit texts followed the Vedic mode of accentuation. He also saw there a small text on the maxims of Chāṇakya.[1] In Bangkok, on the walls of the royal temple of the emerald Buddha frescoes, are paintings depicting scenes of the civic life of the Thai people. On the wall of the outer verandah are drawn pictures from "Ramakien" (Rama-kirti) the Thai version of the Ramayana. But due to the Thai influence on the Rama story Ravana's ten faces in these pictures are shown vertically and not horizontally as in India. Ravana has been shown with one head surmounted by four sets of two heads, each pair on top of another, over which again rests another head. Dr. Bapat met Brāhmin priests in the Hindu temples of Śiva, Viṣhṇu and Gaṇeśa of Bangkok dressed in dhoti in the north Indian style (with kaccha) and wearing a tuft of hair on the back of their heads. In Nakhon Pothan of Thailand there is an image of Gaṇeśa having only two arms. Among the old temples of Phisṇuloka and Sukhotai, some are in Indian style and some in purely Brahminical style. In Watt Mahadhat of Bangkok some monks and laymen practise "samādhi" even while walking which is a peculiarity of the Jain meditation in India. The Jain monks are famous for such type of meditation. Lord Mahavira went in deep meditation even while walking or standing and in course of such meditation he was completely detatched from his environment.[2] We do not know whether the meditation of Watt Mahadhat was directly or indirectly influenced by the Jain meditation which in turn draws from the Indian meditation.

The people of South-East Asia feel grateful to India for having given them their religion and its great founder. We have seen how the Brahminical religion went to these countries. With it went Sanskrit and the great epics and stories like the Pañca-tantra, and the Jātaka.

1. Buddhist South-East Asia, Indo-Asian Culture, Vol.VI, No.2, Page-145.
2. Ācārāṅga Sūtra—acred Books of the East Series, Vol.XXII, Page-79-88.

Men and women of the South-East Asian countries love to visit India for pilgrimage to the holy places. In all those countries except Vietnam there is a custom according to which all men-big and small take to monastic life for a limited period and then return to the family life. This custom seems to have been influenced by the Brahminical custom of the upanayana or going to live in a guru's Āśrama for a certain period for the sake of study. Hundreds of Sanskrit inscription with the names of Hindu deities and of the then rulers of Cambodia and Champā are found. A remarkable feature of these inscriptions is that they mention dates in the Saka era. The beautiful and wonderful stone temples of Angkor Vat are dedicated to the Brahminical deities. The long galleries of the corridors of these temples are full of carved bas-relief stories from the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Purānas. Stories of the Rāmāyana are painted on the walls of a temple in Vientiene. At Ponagar, South-East Vietnam, remains of beautiful Hindu temples are found. In one such temple there is a stone image of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva although it is considered by the local priests as a Chinese goddess. In Vietnam Swastika mark can be seen carved on the chest of many Buddha images. Brahmins are found in Rangoon and Mandalay. Brahmins of these places are called "Ponas". They have got separate residential quarters which in turn are called "Pona-bastis". These Ponas practise astrology and keep old Sanskrit works on the subject. They have their local names for use among the local population but they still retain their Indian names. Formerly they enjoyed a position of honour in the court of the Burmese kings. In Bangkok, Chaiya and Phnom-Penh also, there are Brahmins who still enjoy honour in the royal household. They are invited to attend the king's coronation and anniversary celebrations. In Mandalay and Bangkok they still maintain their separate Hindu temples. In Phnom-Penh they are given honourable title of "Paragu" and they are placed in charge of guarding the royal sword. This indeed is a great honour bestowed on the Brahamins and bear the testimony of the influence of Indian culture. Most peculiar is the fact that the "Ponas" wear dhoti in the north Indian style and have a tuft of hair at the back of their heads. The rural people of both the sexes in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand wear their lower garments in the north Indian style. They wear "kaccha" and pass the left end of the "dhoti" between the thighs and tuck it at the back. Even the princes of Thailand wear their lower dress in this style, the similarity of which can be found no where except in India.

In India we are familiar with the "Cūḍākaraṇa" or "Muṇḍana" ceremony. In the royal and other upper class orthodox families of the

countries mentioned above the ceremony of cutting the hair of children is celebrated with great pomp and enthusiasm. In India both the rich and the poor class of the Hindu society observe this practice but in those countries it is confined only to the higher and orthodox class. In India we enjoy the pleasure of swing on festive occasions specially during the month of "Śrāvaṇa". In Bangkok the traces of this Indian custom can be found. In Laos and Thailand people greet each other at their first meeting with the word "Swaddhi" which is derived from Sanskrit "svasti". This word is so popular in those countries that it is used at the beginning of several sacred texts. A commentary called "Sankhepattha-jotanī" commences with Svasti Buddhāya instead of the usual "Namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammasambuddhassa." Some other texts begin with the words "Namo tassa atthu" and in some prayers to the Mahāyāna deities "Namo" is used. It is to be noted that in these countries before the use of the Buddhist or the Christian era the Śaka era was in use. Clear proof of this can be found in the old inscriptions of Cambodia and Champā.

The "Mesh and Makar Saṁkrānti" festivals are very popular in India. The "Mesh Saṁkrānti" is observed in South India on a grand scale. Corresponding to the "Mesh Saṁkrāṇti", according to the Indian calendar, the Burmese people observe the "Tin-gyan" or water-throwing festival. People of both sexes take part in this festival and they throw water on each other and on every body they come across. This has now become the national festival of Burma and is observed throughout the country. Monks & religious men engage themselves in religious activities on the day. This festival was formerly observed in Thailand as well but now restrictions have been imposed. But the popularity of the festival can be assessed from the fact that Chieng Mai (northern part of Thailand) is under Burmese influence and the "Tin gyan" festival is observed there with the same pomp and grandeur although this is under the Thai administration. The historians feel that the Mons of Burma and north Thailand are the descendants of the Talaings who probably came from the east coast of India. The Mon language contains many words of Sanskrit origin.

Tattooing is practised in all the countries of South-East Asia except Vietnam and men, women and children get their hands, back, chest and thighs tattooed. Even monks get the passages from the sacred texts tattooed. Wearing of ornaments in Thailand and Vietnam has great resemblance with that of India. Necklace and ear-rings are popular with women and the gentlemen love to have lockets round their necks.

Whatever we have discussed so far will go to prove that India had a strong cultural bond with the different countries of South-East Asia. The royalty of those countries always cherished this link and they helped and contributed with all their right and might to make this link stronger and effective. It was because of this end in view that the kings of all those countries most assiduously cultivated the study of the Indian literature in all its branches. Religious and secular-both types of literature developed as a result of which many original works were composed. A large number of educational institutions were established and maintained by the royal grants. Even the learned men of those countries helped and contributed to the growth of such literature and they supported and encouraged the scholars. A number of important centres of Indian learning sprung where those students of China studied who had a mind to come to India. Cultural value of the South-Eastern countries can very well be assessed from the fact that some ardent scholars of India also went to these celebrated institutions of learning for study and it is heartening to note that some such students became quite famous later on. It is enough to mention among these the names of Dharmapāla and Dipaṇkara. The first belonged to South India and in course of time became head of the Nalanda University in the 7th century. Dīpaṅkara of Bengal became head of the Vikramśila University in the 11th century. His learning spread far and wide and it attracted the attention of the Tibetan king who invited him to reform Buddhism in the land of snow. Dīpaṅkara went there and carried out his task so marvellously that even today the Tibetans hold his name in the highest reverence.

Not only the Indian scholars like Dharmapāla and Dīpaṅkara went to the South Eastern countries for study but writers and scholars of those countries also came to India in abundance to sit at the feet of the Indian gurus and study under them. Śiva Soma, the guru of king Indravarm, of Cambodia, came to India in the 9th century and studied with Shaṇkara, the greatest Advaita philosopher India has ever produced. Kumarghosha from Bengal was invited to Indonesia in the 8th century. He went there and was installed there as the royal guru of the Shailendra kings of that country. He held that position with great dignity. As a token of gratitude to India and his faith in Buddhism the Śhailendra monarch Balaputradeva built a monastery at Nālandā in the 9th century and it was at his request that Devapāla, the Pāla emperor of India at that time endowed five villages for meeting its expenses. Quite similarly another Śhailendra king Cuḍāmani Varman and his son King Sri Mar. Vijayottunga Varman of the 10th-11th century constructed a monastery

at Negapatam in South India. For the maintenence of this monastery the then Chola emperor Rajaraja the great granted one village.

We all know that the famous Buddhist temple of Bodh-Gaya was in such a dilapidated condition that it could not have survived. All of us must be grateful to the Burmese king, Shri Tribhuvanāditya Dharamrājā (Kyarzittha), who repaired and reconstructed the sacred temple in the 12th century. He also repaired and constructed some other Buddhist shrines in India. This pious work regarding Bodh Gaya was repeated and continued by some other Burmese Kings. Very recently, in January last, the head of the revolutionary council of Burma General Ne Win covered and decorated the life size statue of the Buddha, in the Bodh Gaya temple, with gold plates and thus performed the gilting ceremony which is considered as the most sacred one.

Barring Bali, Indonesia has now become completely a Muslim country but the Indian cultural heritage is still to be found there. Even today the stories of the Indian epics, Panchtantra and the Jātaka provide basis of popular plays and shows there. Sukarno was the former President and Suharto is present head of Indonesia. Sukarno has named his son Ghatotkach. The Indonesian Air Lines is called the Garuda Air Lines. Thus though now predominantly an Islamic Country Indonesia still cherishes Hindu names and traditions.

There are instances where the royalty of the South-East Asian countries entered into matrimonial connection with the Indians. A brother of the king of Malaya Peninsula came to India in the 5th century, married the eldest daughter of an Indian king, returned to his country and subsequently sat on the throne.

The island of Bali is a glorious example of the Indian culture crossing the barrier of the sea. Hinduism is still a living force there.

Buddhism overshadowed and overwhelmed Hinduism. As a result of this the countries of South-East Asia became devout followers of the Buddhist faith. The principles of love, compassion and piety-the common heritage of both Hinduism and Buddhism—were practised by the kings. Those kings were inspired by the Indian ideals of kingly virtues and undertook extensive works of public utility. The Thai king Shri Sūrya Vamsha Rāma Mahā-Dharmika Rājādhirāja of the 14th century not only patronised Buddhism but himself became a monk and preached the dharma throughout his kingdom.

These academic and cultural intercourses speak clearly of the cultural impact of India on the different countries of South-East Asia,

But we must not forget that this intercourse was quite peaceful and in this respect our relation with those countries has some unique features. No violence was committed by the Indian settlers on the local population, not even by those who later on founded kingdoms. It was absolutely a peaceful penetration with no feeling of superiority. Indeed some of these countries were "colonial kingdoms" of India but they lacked all adjectives of such kingdoms. Neither India claimed any right of suzerainty over them nor those countries entered into political alliances with any Indian ruler or owed allegience to him (Indian King). The relationship was of political independence and full cultural and economic coèlaboration. Barring the only exception of the long drawn war between the Chola kings of South India and the Śailendra kings of Indonesia, the reason of which is still not fully known to the historians, Indian cultural contact with these countries is a pious link. The two regions—India and South East Asia, were distantly situated and politically independent but they had culturally identical life. In social customs, laws, religious practices and amusements the countries of the South East Asia had common base. "There was variety in outward forms and style but the springs of inspiration were identical. Freedom was the watchword and friendship the strongest bond." The greatest example of this harmonious relation can be found in the "Śiva-Buddhālayas" shrines dedicated both to Śiva and the Buddha and in the Śiva-Buddha cult-India has no such thing to her credit. Angkor and Borobudur are results of the marvellous Indian genius.

In the end we may note that the similarity of the cultural contact which India had with South-East Asia is rare and can not be found any where in the world. India's peaceful cultural and economic penetration in those countries was absolutely free from any feeling of aggression or annexation. This is an example of free people giving and taking freely.

---

6. Indo-Asian Culture-India and South-East Asia by Dr. B. C. Chhabra Vol.IV, page-306.

PIṆḌEṢAṆĀ

Dr. Ram Prakash Poddar.

In Jaina monastic discipline great importance is attached to *Piṇḍesaṇā* i. e, begging for food. Among other things Lord Mahavira inherited a code of conduct also from his predecessors and there is no doubt that the discipline of begging for food formed an essential part of a monkś conduct .in pre-Mahavira Jainism. A monk has to be free from all attachments for food—he takes food only to survive and he ṣurvives only to practise asceticism. Whenever he feels that his ṣurvival is not conducive to the practice of asceticism he has to give up taking food with a determination to end the body which no longer served any purpose. While remaining completely detached to food, the monk has also to exercise great discretion in accepting it. We find that the discretions have gradually gained dimension.

The general principle is that a monk should beg such food as has been prepared by the householders for themseleves, and in the action of begging or taking food he should not commit, cause or support injury to living beings. He has to be abstemious in the matters of food.

In his ascetic life Lord Mahavira was completely detached to food. Though in good health, he did not take his fill and generally lived on rough food. For days together he did not take any food or drink at all. It did not make any difference to him if he got moist or dry food or he did not get food at all.

The Lord exercised great discretion in taking food. While still a householder he had given up the use of cold water. In his ascetic life he did not take the food which had expressly been prepared for him.[1] He begged such food as was prepared by the householders for themselves. He took care that the food was free from living beings.[2] He ate food restraining his impules regarding its quality.[3] He took care that his begging for food did not involve in any way injury to living beings. Whenever there were Brahmana or Sramana, a beggar or a guest or a *Candala* or even a cat or a dog already waiting for food, he walked away lest his presence might result in ṭheir disappointment.

1. ahākaḍam.
2. Viyaḍam.
3. āyata—Jogayāe

Āyāraṁga BKI Lesson (8-2) contains some warnings for the monk regarding the acceptance of alms. A householder may approach him and request to partake of food prepared by injuring living beings expressly for the monk or bought, borrowed or taken away by force for him. The monk should refuse such offers. He should also refuse offers of such food as is given without due authority.[1]

A *Sūyagaḍaṁ* verse cautions a monk to abstain from evil food prepared for some guest—for such food also becomes food prepared for him since he happened to be the guest [2]

Bhagavatī-Sūtra (257-2697, enumerates the blemishes of taking food. These are gluttony, aversion and relish.[3] It prescribes only such food for the monk as has been made free from living beings by the householder and possesses ninefold purity—i.e. it does not involve the act, order or approval of killing, cooking and buying[4] on the part of the monk. Carrying food through a distance of more than four miles or retaining it for more than six hours are forbidden.

Lord Mahaviraś reference in *Sutra 556* to Revatiś cooking two '*kavoyasarirā*' for him and his instruction to his disciple the mendicant Siha to beg and bring for him '*Pariasiya majjarakaḍae kukkuḍamaṁsae* prima facie baffle attempts at reconciling them with strict abstinence from animal food.

The *Nāyā* (5) presents the scruples of a monk regarding food in a very interesting dialogue between the *Parivrājaka* Suka and the *Śramaṇa* Sthāpatyaputra. The Parivrājāka asks: 'Are *Sarisavaya* to be eaten by monks or not?' The *Śramaṇa* replies: There are two kinds of *Sarisavayā*—the friend *Sarisavayā* (of equal age) and the corn *Sarisavayā* (the mustard seeds). The former are not to be eaten. The latter are of two kinds—those felled by weapon and those not felled by weapon. The latter are not to be eaten. The former are of two kinds—free from living beings[5] and not free from living beings. The latter are not to be taken, The former are of two kinds—begged and not begged. The latter are not to be eaten. The former are of two kinds acceptable and not acceptable. The latter are not to be eaten. The former again are of two kinds—obtained and not obtained. Those only are to be eaten which are obtained. To sum up the whole

1. Kīyam, Pāmiccam, achejjam, aṇisaṭṭham adhihaṇḍabm
2. Jam Kimciu pūikadam Saḍḍhimāgantumīhiya Sahassantariyam bhumje duppakkḍham ceva sevam
3. Ingāla, dhūma, sanyoyaṇa.
4. Nauakotiparisuddham.
5. Phāsuya

dialogue, only such corns are to be eaten by a monk as are (i) felled by weapon, (ii) free from living beings, (iii) begged (iv) acceptable and (v) obtained.

As we enter into the outside *Anga* canons we find that the discipline of begging food tends to be more complicated. If one culls all the passages of the *Uttara jjhayana* dealing with begging, accepting and consuming food one finds that the attempts are often directed toward the delineation of minute details of the subject.

A monk must live on begging. He should not depend on his kins. He should not profess and live on divination, interpretation of dreams, guiding people about construction of buildings or explaining for them the omens and the marks on the body. He should beg food and drink only for the following purposes : (i) to prevent an illness, (ii) to serve his teacher, (iii) to be able to move about, (iv) to be able to practise self-control, (v) to save his life and (vi) to be able to meditate on the law. He should not take delicious dishes for these may excite the passions. He may omit to beg food for any of the following reasons : (i) in case of illness, (ii) in case of disaster, (iii) to overcome his flesh, (iv) out of compassion for living beings, (v) in the interest of penance and (vi) to end his body which was no longer useful for asceticism.

A monk should set out on his begging tour in time. He should approach the householder preferably at a time when the inmates have presumably finished their meals. On approaching him he should keep at a reasonable distance and feel neither vanity nor humiliation. He should not overstep anybody already waiting for the householders gift of food. He is forfidden to sit or stand in a row of many dining people. He should ask for pure food free from any living beings. He should not yield to disappointment in case of refusal. When he gets sumptuous food he should keep up his detachment and avoid such comments as 'this food is delicious and well-cooked etc.' On getting his food he should consume it in a place free from living beings and seeds, covered above and sheltered on all sides.

Such food has to be avoided as has been prepared keeping the monk in view or as has been bought for him or as he might get regularly (as by right and custom). He should avoid in his search for food the faults occasioned either by the giver [2] or by the receiver [3]. He should also avoid the faults inherent in receiving[4] and in the use of the food received[5].

---

1. Uddesiyam, Kīyagaḍam, nīyāgam,
Uggama.
Uppāyaṇa.
Esaña.
5. Paribhoya.

The *Mūlācāra* enumerates 16 faults of the giver, 16 of the receiver in obtaining food, and 10 in the act of receiving. It does not mention the fault in using food by name but substitutes in stead other four faults which may be regarded as elaborations of the same.

The 16 faults of the giver are :

1. performing the mean acts of injuring the six categories of living beings purposely for the monk (*ādhākammuddesiya*).
2. increasing the quantity of food to be cooked on seeing the monk (*ajjhovajjha*),
3. mixing particles of impure food with the pure one (*Pūdi*),
4. serving the monks along with the heretics (*missa*),
5. reserving food for the monk (*thavida*),
6. offering the remains of a sacrifice (*bali*),
7. allowing interval between decision to offer and actual offering (*Pāhuḍa*),
8. shifting a curtain or cleaning a pot for offering food (*pādukkāra*),
9. buying food for the monk (*kīda*),
10. borrowing food articles for the monk (*Pāmicca*),
11. exchanging one kind of food with another for the monk (*Pariyaṭṭa*),
12. bringing food from a distance (*abhihaḍa.*),
13. breaking a seal for offering food (*ubbhiṇṇa*),
14. scaling a ladder to bring food to offer (*mālāroha*),
15. offering with fear (*acchijja*), and
16. giving without partneṛs permission (*aṇisaṭṭha*),

It is necessary to point out the few cases of disagreement between this list and the one provided in the *uttarajjhayaṇa Dīpikā* in course of explaining the giveṛs fault of the *Sūtra*.

The *Dīpikā* separates the mean acts of injuring the living beings (*ādhākamma* or *adhaḥ karma*) from preparing food with the monk in view and so does the commentary of *Mūlācāra*. But in this case the list exceeds the stated number of sixteen. There is nothing in the text to warrant that the said act of injuring the living beings has to be kept out of the list. Moreover injuring living beings becomes a fault only when it is committed expressly for the monk, otherwise it is not tenable since all acts of cooking food inevitably involves injury to living beings.

In place of *missa* of this list there is *unmiśra* in the *Dīpikā* and the latter is explained as 'food, of which a part only had been especially prepared for the monk in question.

For *Pāhuḍa* of this list the *Dīpikā* has *prābhṛtaka* which is the sanskrit form of the same word. But the *Dīpikā* explains it as 'food prepared for some festivity'. The two explanations may be somehow reconciled—if the food is prepared for some festivity, it is possible that the owner decides to offer at one time and actually offers at another. Here it may be noted that the literal meaning of *pāhuḍa* is a present.

'Pā*dukk*āra' of this list is explained as 'lighting a lamp' in the *Dīpikā*.

The receiver's faults also are 16. These are occasioned by the monk's using some means to make a layman give him food. They are :

1. playing with the layman's children (*dhādī*),
2. playing the messenger (*dādā*),
3. astrology (*nimitta*),
4. making birth and family known to the laymen (*ājīva*),
5. playing a miserable beggar (*vaṇivaga*),
6. playing the doctor (*tegiṁccha*),
7. using threats (*kohī*),
8. swaggering to impress (māṇī),
9. using tricks (*māyī*),
10. showing greed for food (*lohī*),
11. flattering the alms—giver before receiving alms (*puvva saṁthudi*),
12. flattering the alms-giver after receiving alms (*pacchā saṁ*thudi,)
13. using oneś learning to obtain food (*vijjā*),
14. teaching the layman some magic formula or giving him advice (manta),
15. offering toilet or medicinal powder to the layman (*cuṇṇa*), and
16. bewitching and subjugating (*mūlakamma*).

This list generally agrees with the receiver's faults enumerated in the *uttarajjhayaṇa dīpikā* except that in the latter the two types of flattery, before and after receiving alms, are treated under one head and one *yogapiṇḍa* has been introduced. It has been explained as obtaining food by teaching spells. So the total number in the *Dīpikā* too remains sixteen.

The following 10 are the faults in the act of receiving :

1. doubt in purity of food (*saṁkida*),
2. food being served with a laddle already besmeared with ghee or oil (makkhida),
3. food being placed on animate being (*nikkhida*),
4. animate food being covered with inanimate matter or vice versa (*pihida*),
5. Snatching pots in haste before giving (*Samvavaharaṇa*),
6. receiving food from an unworthy giver (*dāyaga*),
7. receiving pure and impure food mixed together (*ummissa*),
8. food being half cooked (a*pariṇada*),
9. food being besmeared with undesirable elements such as cold water etc. (*litt*a), and
10. food being spilt or seattered (*choṭid*ash).

This list also almost agrees with the one given in *utta*ra*jj*ha*ya*ṇa Dī*pi*kā in course of explaining the faults of receiving.

The *Mūlācāra* adds the following four faults :

1. mixing food materials to relish the same (*Samjoya*ṇa),
2. gluttony (adimatta),
3. greed (aṁgāra), and
4. aversion. (dhūma).

These four have been classed under the faults of using food in the *Uttarajjhaya*ṇa Dī*pi*kā.

Besides these the *Mūlācāra* mentions one fault of transgressing the reasons for taking or not taking food. The 'reasons' are adapted verbatim from the *uttarajjhaya*ṇa. By way of perovation the *Mūlācāra* defines the pure food and names the dirts that pollute and render it unacceptable for the monks.

One is struck with the systematic treatment of the subject in the *Mūlācāra*. The author has marshalled, explained and elaborated all the scattered data about a monk's begging food. He has taken pains to classify the faults and then to enumerate the various possible divisions and subdivisions. At places, one feels, the predilection for augmenting the subdivisions is too strong to abide by strictly logical considerations; in some cases the sub-divisions are not distinct and mutually exclusive.

In Dasaveyāliya ch v we come across a wild and rampant growth of rules about begging food. Here almost all the faults regarding food, related hitherto, have been included. Besides, a considerable number of others have been added. Details regarding setting out on begging tour, food materials which ought not to be accepted, conditions under which pure food too should not be accepted have been related with punctilious minuteness.

In his begging tour a monk should avoid going out in rain or fog, and walking on a temporary bridge or causeway. He should also avoid stepping on a plank or a slab. He should not tread upon burning. charcoal, heap of ashes, chaff or cowdung with dusty feet. He should in no case interfere with the privacies of the laymen nor chat or rest with them. He is forbidden to make any discrimination between the rich and the poor or the high and the low. Nevertheless, he may avoid householders of bad repute and notorious places such as a brothel. It may be observed that some of these are rules of common curtsy and apply not only to a mendicant on begging tour but also to any gentleman visitor.

A monk must not accept bulbous and other roots and green fruits and vegetables. He should also avoid barley powder, jujube powder and sesamum cakes. He should not accept treacle etc, placed for sale in the market and such other articles as have been lying for long time and are soiled with dust. He should repudiate the offer of flesh with many bones and winkless (aṇimisa *fish*) with many thorns. Such drinks too as contain living water or as have become stale and fermented should be avoided. The list of food materials to be avoided is a big one in the text and most of the names have by now grown obsolete and they present difficulty in interpretation, *Bahu*aṭṭ*hiy*aṁ *pogg*alaṁ aṇ*imis*aṁ *Vā bahu*kaṇṭ*ayaṁ* of the text presents not so much difficulty in interpretation as in its reconciliation with the rule of strict abstinence from animal food. This verse occurs in Āyāracūla also with the difference that in place of '*pogg*alaṁ' there is *m*aṁsaṁ and in place of aṇ*imis*aṁ there is *macchain* Moreover, here the monk is explicitly advised that in case he inadvertently accepts such food, he should consume the eatable portion and deposit the remnants in a secluded place.

Food becomes unacceptable to a monk when it is given by a woman in advance stage of pregnancy or when a woman puts down a sucking baby or when she or any other giver trample upon living beings and hastens to offer food to the monk. Blemishes of prior and posterior activities injurious to life [1] render food unacceptable. If one

1. Puvvakamma, Pacchākamma.

puts the food on the hearth or stirs the food already on the hearth or kindles, pokes or puts out the fire before giving food, the same becomes unacceptable. The food expressly prepared for a pregnant woman is unacceptable to the monk for its acceptance may frustrate her longing for a particular food. The remnant when she has taken her fill may be accepted. In general any activity injuring or causing pain to living being performed in course of giving food or just before or after it renders the food unacceptable. For example, a monk appears before a man while he is dining. He gets up washes his hands with cold water and then serves the monk—this food is unacceptable on account of prior activity. Similarly a man is about to dine and the monk appears. He offers food, washes his hands with cold water and then sits to eating—the offer is unacceptable on account of posterior activity. In this circumstance the best way is to offer from the dish served before the person in question and then to resume or sit to eating as the case may be.

Āyāracūlā contains a very exhaustive treatise on a monk's begging tour. Here the discourse proceeds in a meandering way. All rules are discussed threadbare and their scope and application are well-defined. Supplementaries are added to it and at places they are resumed after some interval.

In course of dealing with the food prepared expressly for some monk, guest, beggar or any such individual, it has been added by way of elucidation that such food should not be taken even when the intended person has taken his fill out of it. But as an exception to the rule it has been added that the same might be taken if some other individual intervened—who took the food out for himself, took his fill out of it and offered the rest to the monk. Similarly if it is known that in a certain house they give away food daily or on some festive day, a monk should not beg such food ; but the same becomes acceptable when somebody intervenes as in the former case.

A monk should not go to a convivial gathering[1] for taking his meal for various reasons. There he may indulge in overeating or he may fall in bad company. Since these gatherings are also frequented by the vulgar people and are generally overcrowded, it is impossible for the monk to maintain his self respect in such places.

In Dasaveyāliya, ch v-2, certain remarks are made by way of peroration which are worthy of consideration. It has been said that a monk should not conceal the food begged by him from his teacher,

1. Samkhadi of Samāge of Asokan Inscriptions R. E, 1.

fellow monks. If he does so for fear of his meal being partaken by others he commits a very heinous crime. If a monk consumes the delicious items of food begged by him, in secret and puts up only the rough ones to show that he has been undergoing vigorous self-control in taking food, he is of deceitful conduct and will not be saved. Similarly drinking secretly and abstaining from it in public to save one's reputation is very sinful. Such monks are sure to be exposed, moreover, they are always suspicious and restless in their mind. Āyāracūlā also deals with such hypocritical and deceitful[1] practices of a monk and condemns them.

Some of the rules in the Āyāracūlā seem to be concessional, others are in the nature of amendment to some former rules. In the *Dasaveyāliya* most of the rules are prohibitory and in the nature of condemnation of some evil practice. They might be intended to check and restrain laxities growing in the order. On the whole they suggest an ebbing zeal in the matter of self-control on the part of the monks and betray stagnation and decay.

Tenacious adherence to the formalities of begging food continues up to date and herein the laymen are more conservative. Those familiar with there formalities presume to coach the unfamiliar ones before a monk's expected begging tour. One wonders if it is worthwhile to stand upon all these rigorous punctilios. The later ramifications of rules bear a contrast to the lord's simple and straight forward approach. He accepted dry, rough and stale food and at times delicious and well dressed too; but in all cases he kept up his detachment and reduced the emphasis on food to the minimum. Can all the above mentioned 'do's' and 'don't's' help one reduce the emphasis to the minimum ? The ramifications tend to overgrow and obscure the essence. So it is wise to prune them from time to time.

1- Maitthana

जैन रामायण "पउमचरिउ" तथा लोक-जीवन

ले०—डा० देवनारायण शर्मा
व्याख्याता,
प्राकृत-जैन विद्यापीठ, वैशाली।

हिन्दू-परम्परा की तरह ही जैन-परम्परा में भी विभिन्न आचार्यों द्वारा रामायण-काव्य की रचना हुई। रामकथा को काव्यरूप प्रदान करनेवाले उन प्राचीन जैनाचार्यों में सर्वश्री इन्द्रभूति, धर्म, प्रभव, अनुत्तरवादी कीर्तिधर, रविषेण एवं स्वयंभू के नाम विशेषरूप से मिलते हैं। प्रस्तुत निबन्ध का विषय कविराज स्वयंभू की रचना "पउमचरिउ" है, अतः अभी इसी की चर्चा समीचीन होगी।

इस "पउमचरिउ" काव्य को रामायण पुराण, रामायण, राघवकथा, रामदेव चरित, रामायण-काव्य आदि नामों से अभिहित किया गया है। इसके अन्तर्गत विद्याधर काण्ड, अयोध्या काण्ड, सुन्दर काण्ड, युद्ध काण्ड और उत्तर काण्ड——ये पाँच काण्ड, ९० संधियाँ, १२६९ कडवक और १२ हजार गाथाएँ हैं। किन्तु, इन ९० संधियों में प्रारम्भ की ८२ संधियाँ स्वयंभू की और अन्तिम सात इनके बेटे त्रिभुवन की रचना है। मालूम पड़ता है, ८३वीं संधि में कुछ प्रारम्भिक कडवक कविराज की स्वयं की रचना है और बाद के उनके पुत्र त्रिभुवन की। क्योंकि त्रिभुवन ने अपनी रामकथा-कन्या को सात महासर्गांगी कहा है, जो ८४वीं संधि से गिनने पर ही सिद्ध हो सकेगी। पर, ८३वीं संधि के अन्त से ही त्रिभुवन का नाम आने लग जाता है। इसका प्रधान कारण कविराज के द्वारा उसका पूरा न किया जाना ही कहा जा सकता है। क्योंकि उनके द्वारा पूरी की गयी संधियों के अन्त में सर्वत्र उनका नाम जिस-किसी रूप में मिलता ही है। पर, यहाँ त्रिभुवन ने संधि को पूरा करने के कारण अन्त में अपना नाम अंकित तो किया, पर, उसका पूरा अधिकारी न होने के कारण, वे उसको अपनी रामकथा-कन्या का अंग कहने का साहस नहीं कर सके।

इस प्रसंग में यहाँ यह भी विचार कर लेना प्रासंगिक होगा कि कविराज स्वयंभू द्वारा रचित "पउमचरिउ" अपने आप में पूर्ण था या अपूर्ण। यदि वह पूर्ण था तो फिर त्रिभुवन ने उसमें कुछ जोड़कर उसे पूर्णतम बनाया अथवा उस काव्य की व्यर्थ स्थूलता बढ़ायी।

यहाँ इन दोनों पिता-पुत्रों की भावनाओं के साथ न्याय करने के लिये हमें निश्चिततः जैन अनेकान्त का सहारा लेना पड़ेगा। यह "पउमचरिउ" कविराज की

दृष्टि में पूर्ण होते हुए भी, त्रिभुवन की दृष्टि में अवश्यमेव अपूर्ण था। इस धारणा-द्वय की पुष्टि निम्नलिखित विचारणाओं से हो जाती हैं :—

'विमलसूरि' और 'रीकोण' की परम्परा में होने के कारण स्वयंभू को भी रामकथा के उत्तरचरित का वर्णन तद्वत् करना ही चाहिये, का कोई विशेष महत्व नहीं। कविराज ने अपनी कविता-सरिता के वर्णन-प्रसंग में स्पष्ट शब्दों में "सक्कय-पायय पुलिणालंकिय" तथा "देसीभाषा उभय तडुज्जल" की उपमा प्रस्तुत कर अपनी कविता-सरिता को संस्कृत और प्राकृत पुलिनों से दूर हटाकर देशी भाषा के तटों को स्पर्श करती हुई प्रवाहित होने दिया है। देशी भाषा के कवियों को अपेक्षाकृत तात्कालिक लोक-रुचि पर विशेष दृष्टि रखनी पड़ी है। जहाँ तक काव्य-परम्परा से प्रतीत होता है, उस समय तक संभवतया राम का उत्तर-चरित लोक की दृष्टि में अप्रिय हो चला था और सीता-विवासन, प्रव्रज्या तथा लक्ष्मणादि के कष्टपूर्ण निधन जैसे प्रसंगों से लोग नाक-भौं सिकोड़ने लग गये थे। इस परम्परा का पूर्ण परिपाक हम आगे चलकर देशी-भाषा के महान् कवि सम्राट् तुलसी की रामायण "रामचरित मानस" में पाते हैं, जहाँ वाल्मीकि, व्यास और कालिदास की परम्परा को स्वीकार करते हुए भी राम के उत्तर-चरित के उपर्युक्त दुःखद प्रसंगों को सर्वथा हटा दिया गया हैं। फिर, स्वयंभू जैसे प्रतिभाशाली देशी-भाषा के कवि का ध्यान लोक की इस रुचि की ओर न गया होगा ऐसी बात नहीं। कविराज का ध्यान इस ओर अवश्य आकृष्ट हुआ होगा और इसी कारण राम के उत्तर-चरित की उन्होंने जान-बूझकर उपेक्षा की होगी।

पर, दूसरा विचारने का प्रश्न है कि त्रिभुवन ने इस काव्य की आकृति को किस दृष्टि से बढ़ाया, मात्र अपनी विद्वत्ता, काव्य-छटा दिखलाने के लिए अथवा स्वयंभू के अभीष्ट लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति के लिए ? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर हमें "पउमचरिउ" की निम्न पंक्तियों से मिल जाता है :—

"आयहुँ अवरहुँ वि असेसहुँ कहिअहूँ मुणिगण सारएँण।
परभागमें जिह उद्दिट्ठहूँ आसि सयम्भु भडारएँण ॥ ८३।२०।१०

अर्थात् ये सब (जो लिखी जा चुकी हैं) और (बची) अन्य भी सम्पूर्ण कथाएँ जिस प्रकार मुनिगण श्रेष्ठ जिनेन्द्रदेव द्वारा श्रेष्ठ आगम ग्रन्थों में कही गयी हैं, उसी प्रकार लिखने का उद्देश्य स्वयंभू भट्टारक का भी था।

पर, इसके आगे त्रिभुवन यत्र बताने में असमर्थता प्रगट करते हैं कि वह बाकी कथा कविराज द्वारा क्यों नहीं लिखी गयी ? पर, इस असमर्थता के बाद भी हम यह तो समझ ही सकते हैं कि त्रिभुवन का लक्ष्य अपने पिता की अधूरी कथा को पूरा करना ही था, मात्र अपनी विद्वत्ता अथवा काव्य-छटा दिखलाना नहीं।

पर, यहाँ हम यह भी कह देना आवश्यक समझते हैं कि त्रिभुवन की यह उपर्युक्त काव्य संबंधी धारणा कविराज के किसी प्रत्यक्ष संकेत के कारण हो, यह बात नहीं।

मात्र, काव्य का प्रारम्भिक ढांचा, प्राचीन आचार्यों के रामायण काव्य लिखने की एक विशेष परम्परा, कविराज द्वारा काव्य संबंधी संग्रहीत आवश्यक सामग्रियां आदि हीं त्रिभुवन की उक्त धारणा के आधार बनी होंगी। और जैसा कि प्रतीत होता है, "पउमचरिउ" का यह जोड़-स्वयंभू के जीवन-काल का निश्चय ही नहीं है, अन्यथा त्रिभुवन इस जोड़ के कारण पर प्रकाश डाले विना नहीं रहते। अन्ततः हम इस नम्र निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते हैं कि पिता के काव्य को परम्परानुरूप बनाने के उद्देश्य से पुत्र द्वारा कृत उक्त जोड़ को व्यर्थ कहना न्याय नहीं होगा।

अब यहाँ हम इस रामायण-काव्य के अन्तर्गत वर्णित लोक-जीवन का समास में दिग्दर्शन करेंगे—

वस्तुतः जीवन हीं किसी काव्य का मेरुदण्ड है, जो स्थूल और सूक्ष्म की अनन्त-ग्रन्थियों से निर्मित हैं। कवि जिस विशेष दृष्टि को लेकर चलता है, वह दृष्टि जीवन के अन्तः और वाह्य दोनों ही तलों का स्पर्श करती है। विशेषकर स्वयंभू जैसे देशी भाषा के कवि के काव्य में तो इस तथ्य का हमें मुक्त उद्‌घोष मिलता है और उसकी एक-एक पंक्ति लोक संग्रह की ध्वनि से ओत-प्रोत दीखती है।

यहाँ उक्त तथ्य को प्रकट करने के लिए हम "पउमचरिउ" के अन्तर्गत स्थापित राजनीतिक, समाजिक एवं पारिवारिक आदर्शों का अवलोकन निम्न प्रकार करेंगे—

राजनीतिक आदर्श

(क) राजा की योग्यता—राजा की योग्यता के संबंध में कवि की लेखनी असीम को छूती है। वह अपने राजा को सभी दुर्गुणों से रहित एवं सद्‌गुणों से सम्पन्न देखना चाहती है। वह अपने राजा की सर्वांगपूर्णता के सामने शंकर, विष्णु, सूर्य, चन्द्र तथा इन्द्रादि देवों तक को *अपूर्ण घोषित कर देती है।*[1]

"पउमचरिउ" का राजा तीनों शक्तियों से युक्त, चारों विद्याओं में निष्णात, छः गुणों का निधान, छः बलों तथा सात प्रकृतियों का यथार्थ ज्ञाता, सप्त व्यसनों से सर्वथा रहित, छः अन्तरंग शत्रुओं का विनाशक और अठारह प्रकार के तीर्थों का पालक हैं। इतना ही नहीं, वह राजा अपने दिन-रात का समय राजोचित विविध कृत्यों के अनुसार यथाकाल विभाजित करके व्यतीत करता है, जिसमें अहोरात्र का एक क्षण भी व्यर्थ नहीं जाए, साथ ही किसी कार्य में त्रुटि न रहने पाये (१६/२-३)। इस प्रकार इस रामायण काव्य के अन्तर्गत राजा को एक असाधारण शक्ति-सम्पन्न व्यक्तित्व के रूपमें स्वीकार किया गया है।

(ख) राज्याभिषेक की रीति—इस रीति का पालन कवि राजतंत्र के अनुरूप ही करता है। वह स्पष्ट रूप से "जेहि पितु देइ सो पावइ टीका" की परम्परा का सूत्र-पात करता हुआ दीखता है। उदाहरणार्थ हम चक्रवर्ती भरत वाहुबलि एवं राम-भरत के

१—संधि-१, कडवकछ, पंक्ति १-६

प्रसंगों को ले सकते हैं, जहाँ प्रथम पुत्र भरत को तो पिता-ऋषभ पूरे भूमण्डल का राज्य समर्पित कर देते हैं और द्वितीय पुत्र को मात्र पोदनपुर का एक नगण्य छोटा भूखण्ड। इसी प्रकार राजा दशरथ अपने जेठ पुत्र राम को तो वनवास जाने का आदेश दे देते हैं और छोटे पुत्र भरत को अयोध्या के राज सिंहासन पर आसीन होने का। इस प्रसंग में कवि न कहीं कोई चूं-चपर की ही आवश्यकता मानता है और न उसके होने से राजनिर्णय पर कोई प्रभाव।

(ग) प्रजा-पालन तथा करोद्ग्रहण—"पउमचरिउ" के अन्तर्गत प्रजा-पालन एवं सुव्यवस्थित शासन के लिए करोद्ग्रहण की प्रणाली अतिआवश्यक बतायी गयी है। यहाँ तक कि भूखण्ड के अधिकारी अपने सहोदर तक को भी *कर न देने पर*[1] अधिकार वंचित कर देने का विधान किया गया है। कवि की इस व्यवस्था का ज्वलन्त प्रमाण भरत-बाहुबलि का विवाद-प्रसंग है जो अन्ततः *कर वसूल कर के ही*[2] दम लेता है। पर, इस करोद्ग्रहण का भी मर्यादा निर्धारित है। यह संपत्ति के मात्र *दशांश तक ही*[3] न्यायपूर्ण कहा गया है, उसके आगे नहीं।

(घ) युद्ध में शत्रु राजा के साथ व्यवहार—इस प्रसंग को कविराज ने और सूक्ष्म दृष्टि से देखा है। वस्तुतः युद्ध भी एक सामयिक धर्म है, जिसकी उपेक्षा नहीं की जा सकती। इसी कारण अन्य सामयिक अथवा व्यक्तिनिष्ठ धर्म के पालन में जिस प्रकार व्यक्ति की नैतिकता की आवश्यकता समझी जाती है, ठीक उसी प्रकार युद्ध के मैदान में भी कवि उसका यथा संभव निर्वाह देखना चाहता है। उसमें तनिक भी वर्ती जानेवाली अनैतिकता को कवि अन्याय-अन्याय की घोषणा द्वारा मर्माहत कर देता है। वह स्पष्ट विधान करता है कि केवल उसी शत्रु पर प्रहार करना न्यायसंगत है, जो प्रहार का उत्तर प्रतिप्रहार द्वारा दे सकता है। मात्र मार खाकर चुपचाप रह जानेवाले पर प्रहार करना अनुचित है। निर्विष सर्प को मारने *से कोई*[4] *लाभ नहीं।* इसी को अधिक स्पष्ट करते हुए कवि का कथन है कि भागते हुए, नमस्कार करते हुए, सोते हुए, भोजन करते हुए और जल पीते हुए *शत्रु को*[5] *मारना* निषिद्ध है। और शत्रु के दूत को मारने का तो सर्वत्र विरोध किया गया है, साथ ही उसे अपने स्वामी के पक्ष समर्थन में कुछ भी कहने की छूट दी गयी है। एक के साथ बहुतों का तथा पैदल के साथ यानारुढ़ का लड़ना *अनीति कहा गया*[6] है इतना ही नहीं, एक योद्धा को

१—४।४।९
२—४।१२।६
३—८०।११।१०
४—१०।१२।४
५—७।९।६
६—१५।३।४

अनेक योद्धाओं के द्वारा घेर लिया जाना तो *क्षात्र धर्म का त्याग करना*[1] तक कहा गया है। इसी प्रकार युद्ध के काल का निर्धारण करते हुए कवि ने उसे दिन के प्रकाश में ही मर्यादित कर दिया है। रात्रि के अन्धकार में तो *आदर्श योद्धा*[2] अपने प्रतियोद्धा को मित्र मान लेते हैं।

यद्यपि *पउमचरिउ* के कवि की राय में प्रबल शत्रु को पराजित करने में यत्र-तत्र छल-प्रयोग को भी *लोक स्वीकृति*[3] मिल गयी है। किन्तु, इसके बाद भी पराजित राजा की राज्य सम्पत्ति पर विजयी राजा की लोभ वृत्ति को आदर्श नहीं बनाया गया है, बल्कि आदर्श विजयी तो उसे ही घोषित किया गया है, जो विजित राजा से अपनी सेवा स्वीकार कराकर उसकी राज्य-सम्पत्ति एवं उत्तराधिकार को उसे ससम्मान समर्पित कर दे। और आदर्श शत्रुओं के बीच परस्पर के इसी स्निग्ध सम्बन्ध की ओर कवि इंगित करता भी है, उदाहरणार्थ रावण-सहस्त्र किरण रावण-नलकूबर, बालि-रावण एवं राम-रावण आदि का युद्धोपरान्त परस्पर सबंन्ध। बल्कि, रावण की मृत्यु के बाद तो विभीषण के द्वारा लंका का राज्य राम को समर्पित तक करने का प्रस्ताव किये जाने पर राम का स्पष्ट उत्तर विभीषण के प्रति यही होता है—

"विभीषण! लंका का राज्य आपका है। आप इसका उपयोग अनन्तकाल तक करते रहें। जबतक स्वर्ग में देवगण, पृथ्वी पर पर्वतराज सुमेरु, समुद्र में अपार जलपुंज और संसार में मेरी कीर्त्ति रहे, *तब तक विभीषण*[4] आप लंका के अधिपति रहें।" इस तरह अपनी सरल उक्ति के द्वारा राम ने अपने विजित शत्रु की राज्य सम्पत्ति में अपनी सर्वथा निर्लोभ दृष्टि का परिचय दिया।

शत्रु राजा के साथ संधि-विग्रह संबंधी नीति—अपने शत्रु राजा के साथ संधि और विग्रह दोनों की ही स्थितियां उत्पन्न हो जाने पर कविराज *प्रथम पर ही अधिक बल देते पाये जाते हैं*।[5] क्योंकि अनेकान्त गर्भित अहिंसामूलक धर्म के सरलतम ढंग से निर्वाह करने का एक मात्र सुगम उपाय संधि ही है, सामंजस्य ही है, विविध मतों के बीच एक समान मत की स्थापना ही है। इतना ही नहीं शत्रु राजा के साथ जब शान्ति-संधि के सभी प्रयत्न निष्फल भी हो जाते हैं और जन संहारक तुमुल युद्ध ही अवश्यम्भावी हो जाता है, उस विषम परिस्थिति में भी "पउमचरिउ" का कवि शान्ति-स्थापना का अंतिम प्रयोग करते देखा जाता है। किन्तु, तब वह युद्ध की अवश्यम्भाविता को नहीं अगणित जन संहार को ही रोकने में प्रयत्नशील होता है और उसमें उसे सफलता भी मिलती है। वह अपार सैन्य युद्ध को रुद्र-संहारक कहकर रोक देता है और

१—१७।६।१
२—६६।१४।६-७
३—१५।१३।९
४—७८।१३।१-९
५—१६।७।१

संघर्षोन्मुख दोनों प्रमुख प्रतिभटों के बीच द्वन्द्व-युद्ध की व्यवस्था प्रस्तुत करता है। और उन्हीं दोनों की जीत-हार को दोनों सैन्य दल की जीत-हार की मान्यता भी दे देता है। उदाहरण के लिए हम *भरत-बाहुबलि*[1] *एवं रावण-बलि*[2] के युद्ध प्रसंगों को ले सकते हैं, जहाँ उनके मंत्रीगण ही इस आश्वासन के साथ कि आप दोनों में जो विजयी होंगे, हम उन्हें ही अपना राजा मान लेंगे, उन्हें घोर सैन्य युद्ध से विमुख कर व्यक्तिनिष्ठ द्वन्द्व युद्ध की ओर प्रेरित करते हैं। और यह दण्ड प्रयोग भी साम-दान और भेद की नीति के व्यर्थ हो जाने के पश्चात् ही ग्राह्य है *पूर्व नहीं*[3] कविराज की इस लोक-शान्ति-मूलक संधि-नीति को तो वहाँ और भी सर्वांगपूर्ण मान्यता मिल जाती है जब लंका में ससैन्य प्रवेश कर जाने एवं विभीषण तथा भामंडल के स्वयं आ मिलने जैसे सुयोग की प्राप्ति से अवश्यम्भाव्य विजयी राम भी संग्राम को लोकहित के विरुद्ध मानते हुए अपने मूढ़-प्रतिपक्षी रावण के पास भी *युवराज अंगद को संधि-दूत बनाकर भेजते हैं*[4]। यद्यपि राम का यह प्रयास ऊसर में बीज बोने जैसा निष्फल सिद्ध होता है, किन्तु, राजनीति के मर्म को तत्वतः जाननेवाले राम *साम* को सर्वप्राधान्य न देने की भूल आखिर कैसे करते ? उन्हें तो अंतिम क्षण तक लोक-शान्ति की रक्षा करनी थी।

इस तरह हमें "पउमचरिउ" के अन्तर्गत राजनीति को मूलतः साम-नीति से संचालित पाते हैं और इस महाकवि के राजा को भी कालिदास के कार्तवीर्य की तरह "अनन्य साधारण राज शब्द" से अलंकृत।

सामाजिक आदर्श

"पउमचरिउ" के अन्तर्गत समाज के सुव्यवस्थित ढंग से संचालन के लिए समाजोपयोगी विविध कर्मों जैसे—समाज की सुरक्षा के लिए शस्त्र-धारण-संचालन (असिकर्म), समाज में ज्ञान के प्रचार-प्रसार के लिये शास्त्रों के पठन-पाठन (मसिकर्म) तथा समाज को धन-धान्य से पूर्ण रखने के लिये कृषि-वाणिज्यादि के समुचित रीति से संचालन का संकेत मिलता है। किन्तु, इन कर्मों के धारक एवं संचालक किसी वर्ग विशेष पर बल नहीं दिया गया है। यों प्रसंगानुसार ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्यादि वर्णों के नाम मिल जाते हैं, पर इससे इनके किसी वर्ग अथवा इनकी विशिष्ट कार्य-सीमा का पता नहीं चलता। संभवतया "पउमचरिउ" के कवि की दृष्टि में समाज के लोग अपनी-अपनी योग्यतानुसार उक्त सामाजिक कर्त्तव्यों का चुनाव स्वयं करते हैं। इसी कारण उन पर वह किन्हीं विशिष्ट विधि-निषेधों का अंकुश डालना नहीं चाहता।

इस प्रसंग में यह ध्यान देने योग्य है कि उपर्युक्त विधानों का एकमात्र मूल कारण है श्रमण-परम्परा के द्वारा वर्णाश्रम-व्यवस्थाओं के बीच वर्ण-व्यवस्था को नहीं

१—४।८।९,४।१३।१-२
२—१२।८।१३
३—१६।७।४
४—५८।१।१६

मात्र आश्रम-व्यवस्था को स्वीकार किया जाना अर्थात् व्यक्ति के जन्म को नहीं मात्र कर्म को महत्व प्राप्त होना। "पउमचरिउ" के अन्तर्गत भी सामाजिक आदर्श की मूल-प्रेरक भित्ति यही है। और इस आश्रम-व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत श्रमण परम्परा चार अर्थात् ब्रह्मचर्य, गृहस्थ, वानप्रस्थ और संन्यास के व्यास-विवेचन में न जाकर मात्र दो अर्थात् गृहस्थाश्रम (सागार धर्म) और संन्यासाश्रम (अनगार धर्म) तक ही अपने को सीमित रखती है। किन्तु, "पउमचरिउ" की इन दो आश्रम-व्यवस्थाओं के अन्तर्गत ही मानव-जीवन के प्रायः सभी कर्त्तव्य-कर्मों का समावेश हो जाता है। यह इस समास-शैली की विशेषता है।

समाज में स्त्रियों का स्थान—समाज के अन्तर्गत स्त्रियों का आदर्श अत्युच्चवर्णित हुआ है। वे युद्ध-स्थल में पति के रथ का सारथ्य करती हैं। पति के शस्त्राहत होने के कारण संज्ञा-शून्य तक हो जाने की स्थिति में अपने अद्भुत उपचार के द्वारा उन्हें नव-जीवन प्रदान करती है। और इतना ही नहीं पति के इशारे पर जंगलों और पर्वतों के कंटकाकीर्ण निर्जन-शून्य प्रदेशों में अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन तक व्यतीत कर डालती हैं। कविराज ने इसी कारण सती स्त्री के चित्र को [1] *दुर्लंध्यं* कहा है। हाँ, असती स्त्रियों की निंदा अवश्य ही सर्वत्र की गयी है जो स्वाभाविक भी है।

समाजगत प्रमुख रीति का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है, वैवाहिक रीति पर और की अपेक्षा कुछ अधिक प्रकाश पड़ता है। वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध को प्रायः तीन-चार प्रणालियों के निदर्शन हमें यहाँ मिलते हैं। इनमें सर्वप्रमुख स्वयंवर प्रणाली कही जा सकती है जिसके अनुसार किष्किन्ध-श्रीमाला, दशरथ-केकया तथा राम-सीता का विवाह-संबंध सम्पन्न हुआ। तीर्थ स्थानादि, जैसे प्रसिद्ध दर्शनीय स्थानों में जहां तीर्थ-यात्री के रूप में देश-विदेश से अनेकों वर एकत्र होते हैं, वहां कन्या को ले आकर एवं परस्पर निरीक्षण के द्वारा उनमें वैवाहिक संबंध की स्थापना कराने को हम दूसरी प्रणाली के अन्तर्गत ले सकते हैं। इसी प्रणाली के द्वारा पवनंजय और अंजना सुन्दरी के बीच प्रणय सूत्र ग्रथित हुआ। इसी तरह विवाह योग्य कन्या को तदनुरूप वर के हाथों में ले जाकर समर्पित कर देने की रीति को हम तृतीय स्थान दे सकते हैं। द्रोण ने लक्ष्मण को विशल्या और मय-मारीच ने रावण को मंदोदरी इसी रीति के अनुसार अर्पित की थीं। चौथी एवं अंतिम प्रणाली के अन्तर्गत किसी दल-बल के द्वारा कन्या को उड़ा लेने की रीति को हम रख सकते हैं, जिसके अनुसार श्रीकंठ को कमलावती और खरदूषण को चन्द्रनखा प्राप्त हुई। पर, यह अंतिम रीति कविराज की दृष्टि में उपादेय नहीं, हेय है। इसमें संकोच, अपमान एवं भय तीनों का शिकार होना पड़ सकता है।

अन्ततः हम "पउमचरिउ" के अन्तर्गत मृतक-संस्कार की रीति को ले सकते हैं। इसके अनुसार मृतक शरीर को अग्नि-ज्वाला में भस्म कर दिये जाने के पश्चात् कुटुम्बियों द्वारा *जलांजलि प्रदान*[2] *करने की व्यवस्था की गयी है।*

१—१५।१०।८

२—७७।१७।१०

इसी प्रकार "पउमचरिउ" में हम कुछ अन्य सामाजिक प्रणालियों का निदर्शन भी पा सकते हैं, जैसे—वर पक्ष तथा कन्या पक्ष में परस्पर उपहारादि के आदान-प्रदान की रीति, भाई की ओर से विवाहोपरान्त बहन से सर्वप्रथम मिलने के संबंध में बर्ती जानेवाली औपचारिकता, सामाजिक रूप से महोत्सवादि मनाने की प्रणाली आदि।

पारिवारिक आदर्श

पारिवारिक आदर्श के अन्तर्गत हम पिता-पुत्र, माता-पुत्र, भाई-भाई, पति-पत्नी, देवर-भाउज, चाचा-भतीजा आदि के संबंधों को ले सकते हैं। "पउमचरिउ" में इन संबंधों के आदर्शरूप निम्न प्रकार मिलते हैं :—

पिता-पुत्र का संबंध—पिता और पुत्र का संबंध आत्मीय संबंध के रूप में लोक स्वीकृत है। यही कारण है कि पिता के हर्ष को पुत्र अपना हर्ष और विषाद को अपना विषाद मानता है। इसी प्रकार पिता भी पुत्र के तनिक क्लेश से क्लिष्ट और प्रसन्नता से प्रसन्न हो जाते हैं, चाहे वे गृही हों अथवा साधु। राक्षसाधिप रावण ने युद्ध में सहस्र किरण को पराजित कर बन्दी बना लिया था। यह समाचार सहस्रकर के पिता शतकर जो अब पंच महाव्रतों के धारक निर्ग्रन्थ ऋषि हो चुके थे, के पास किसी प्रकार पहुंच गया। वे निर्ग्रन्थ साधु भी पुत्र-स्नेहवश अपने संघ के साथ रावण के पास आ ही तो गये। और आते ही उन्होंने रावण से स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा—"लंकानरेश तुम सहस्र किरण को मुक्त कर दो। यह साधारण व्यक्ति नहीं, प्रत्युत चरमशरीरी है। यह मेरा पुत्र भव्य जनरूपी कमलों को विकसित करने वाला [1] भास्वमान दिवाकर है। और इस प्रकार रावण से उन्होंने अपने पुत्र को मुक्त करा ही लिया।

इसी प्रकार हम दशरथ और राम के आदर्श पिता-पुत्र संबंध को भी देख सकते हैं।

भाई-भाई का संबंध—राम को राजप्रासाद-निवास के बदले प्रवास-बनवास दिया गया था। उन्हें लगातार सोलह वर्षों तक वन-वन की हवा खाने के साथ ही स्त्री-वियोग तथा भ्रातृ-वियोग जैसी घोर कष्टकर यातनाओं को भी सहन करना पड़ा था। इतना ही नहीं इसी क्रम में मायावी विद्याधरों के साथ प्राण की बाजी लगाकर घोर-घमाशान युद्ध का भी साहसपूर्वक सामना किया गया था। और ये सारी आपदाएँ किसके लिये स्वीकार्य हुई ? भाई भरत राजा बनें केवल इसी उद्देश्य की सिद्धि के लिये। राम ने पिता की इस आज्ञा को सहर्ष शिरोधार्य किया था और अपने अनुज को ही अपना राजा मान लिया था। पर, अनुज भरत भी परम्परा-प्रतिकूल प्राप्त इस राज-मुकुट को शिरोधार्य करना नहीं चाहते थे। वे इसका वास्तविक अधिकारी अपने ज्येष्ठ भाई राम को ही मानते थे। और अपनी इस मान्यता की स्वीकृति के लिये वे अपने राजा-पिता के आदेश का भी बड़े तीक्ष्ण तर्कों से *अन्त-अन्त तक खण्डन* करते रहे। राम के वन जाने की खबर से तो *भरत मूर्छित तक हो गये* और फिर चेतना आने पर

१–१५।७।१-३

फूट-फूट कर रो[1] पड़े। उन्होंने राम को बुला लाने का निश्चय कर वन मार्ग का अनुगमन किया। राम मिले भी, पर भरत द्वारा लौट चलने का निवेदन किये जाने पर उन्होंने पितृ-आज्ञा की दुहाई देकर अयोध्या लौट चलने में अपनी असमर्थता प्रकट की। तत्काल लौटाने का कोई चारा न देखकर भरत ने सोलह वर्ष के बाद ही सही, पर राम के वापस आ जाने पर उन्हें *राज्य समर्पित*[2] *कर देने की प्रतिज्ञा* कर ली। यही है "पउमचरिउ" का निश्छल-निस्वार्थ एवं प्रेमपूर्ण भ्रातृ-आदर्श जिसके अन्तर्गत संसार में सबसे बढ़कर *दुर्लभ*[3] *सच्चे भाई* को माना गया है। इतना ही नहीं *भाई* शब्द कविराज को इतना अधिक आत्मीय एवं प्यारा है कि सौतेले भाईयों को भी वे सर्वत्र सहोदर ही कहते चलते हैं। वस्तुतः उन्हें अलग बिठाने के पक्ष में कवि का झुकाव ही नहीं प्रतीत होता। वह भरत-बाहुबलि, राम-लक्ष्मण आदि के बीच सहोदर का संबंध ही स्वीकार करता है जो "पउमचरिउ" के भ्रातृ-संबंध का एक आदर्श एवं उदार प्रयोग कहा जा सकता है।

पति-पत्नी का संबंध—पुरुष और प्रकृति की दार्शनिक कल्पना जो अपने सामान्य सामाजिक अर्थ में नर-नारी के रूप में आई, उसी का विशिष्ट पारिवारिक रूप हम पति-पत्नी के संबंध में पाते हैं। यह संबंध परस्पर अन्योन्याश्रित है। पति के बिना पत्नी का जीवन यदि निरर्थक है तो पत्नी के बिना पति का जीवन निष्फल। पत्नी की रक्षा का भार पति अपने कंधों पर लेता है। पत्नी की रक्षा में ही उसकी कीर्ति की, प्रतिष्ठा की रक्षा है, ऐसा *वह मानता*[4] है। और यही कारण है कि पत्नी भी उस पति के द्वारा अपमानित किये जाने पर भी पति की मंगल-कामना करती हुई, उसके प्राणों से अपने प्राणों को लगाये निष्फल उसके रुख का अनुसरण करती है। पत्नी मात्र घर तक ही नहीं युद्ध में दुंदुभी-नाद तक पति का साथ देती है और उसे विजयी बनाती है और उसके बदले में पति भी अपना सर्वस्व अपना जीवन-धन उस पत्नी पर *न्योछावर कर देता*[5] है। इनमें से एक का वियोग दूसरे के लिए असह्य हो जाता है।

वन जाते हुए अपने पति का संकेत पाकर सीता राज-भवन की *सुख-शय्या* को छोड़[6] निकल पड़ती है। क्योंकि इस संसार में वह एकमात्र राम को ही अपना आश्रय-स्थान समझती हैं। उनसे अलग होकर वह आखिर, टिक कहाँ सकती है? और इसी प्रकार सीता के वियोग में राम भी चारण ऋषियों से अपनी करुण-स्थिति इसी प्रकार व्यक्त करते हैं—"संसार में और सभी चीजें मुझे पुनः मिल सकती हैं, पर, स्त्री-रत्न

१—२४।७।२-७
२—२४।१०।९
३—६६।१२।६
४—१५।२।१-३
५—२१।४।३-५
६—२३।६।१-५

सीता नहीं मिल सकती ।[१] यहाँ तक कि लक्ष्मण को तो सीता का वियोग राम के लिए घातक प्रतीत होता [२] है। राम स्त्री-पराभव को सबसे घोर पराभव मानते थे :[३] सीता के मिल जाने पर उन्हें इतना ही अधिक सुख का अनुभव हुआ, जितना सुख शायद इन्द्र को भी इन्द्रत्व मिलने पर नहीं होता[४] । इसी प्रकार हम अंजना सुन्दरी के वियोग में पवनंजय की स्थिति भी देख सकते हैं, जिसने अपनी प्रिया की अप्राप्ति की स्थति में संन्यास ले लेने[५] की प्रतिज्ञा कर ली थी।

"पउमचरिउ" के अन्तर्गत पति-पत्नी संबंध का आदर्शरूप हम इसी प्रकार पाते हैं।

माता-पुत्र का संबंध—इस संबंध का आदर्श रूप कवि राम की इन उक्तियों में प्रगट करता है —*जननी के साथ जन्म-भूमि*[६] में रहने का सुख स्वर्ग में भी दुर्लभ है। अर्थात् माता की गोद पुत्र के लिए स्वर्ग के सिंहासन से भी बढ़कर है।

राजा हरिषेण की मातृ-भक्ति का उल्लेख कविराज ने बड़े ही गर्व के साथ किया है। अपनी माता की तनिक व्याकुलता भी सहन करने में असमर्थ हरिषेण ने अपने अथक श्रम एवं अपार कष्ट सहिष्णुता के बल से *माता की हार्दिक कामना*[७] पूरी कर आत्म-संतोष लाभ किया था। हम पुत्र पवनंजय के वियोग में माता केतुमती के विलाप[८] तथा राम के वन-गमन के समाचार से माता *कौशल्या की अतिशय व्याकुलता*[९] को देख सकते हैं।

इस प्रकार माता और पुत्र के परस्पर के व्यवहार को देख उनके आदर्श सम्बन्ध का परिचय हमें मिल जाता है।

इसी प्रकार हम भावज-देवर, चाचा-भतीजा आदि संबंधों के आदर्श रूपों का भी विहंगावलोकन इस प्रसंग में कर सकते हैं—

भावज-देवर का संबंध—बड़े भाई की पत्नी को *माता के समान*[१०] कहा गया है। लक्ष्मण माता सुमित्रा की अपेक्षा माता *सीता की याद*[११] अधिक रखते थे।

१—३९।५।२-८

२—४०।१३।१०

३—४४।१२।८

४—७८।७।६

५—१९।१३।२-१० से १९।१४।१-६

६—७८।१७।४

७—११।२।२-८

८—१९।१५।१-६

९—२३।३।९।२३।४।१-१०

१०—११।१०।९

११—५०।२।१

राम के द्वारा सीता को विवासित कर दिये जाने पर लक्ष्मण अपने को *माता विहीन*[1] मानते थे। और सीता का भरोसा भी लक्ष्मण पर सबों की अपेक्षा अधिक था। उन्होंने हनुमान को विदा करते समय लक्ष्मण के लिए यही संदेश कहा था—*लक्ष्मण*[2] तुम्हारे रहते हुए भी सीता अभागिन की तरह रोती रहती है। लक्ष्मण वह दुष्ट रावण न तो देवों से न दानवों से और न शत्रु संहारक राम से ही मारा जा सकेगा। केवल तुम्हारे ही हाथों से उसका बध संभव है।"

चाचा-भतीजा का संबंध—यद्यपि *वालि* ने[3] पूरा राज्य अपने छोटे भाई सुग्रीव को ही समर्पित कर दिया था, किन्तु, सुग्रीव ने उसमें से आधा राज्य *अपने भतीजे*[4] को भी दे दिया। इसी प्रकार के सौहार्द संबंध का परिणाम था कि भतीजे भी चाचा को पिता-तुल्य ही समझकर सम्मान करते थे। यह संबंध राम-रावण-युद्ध के समय प्रत्यक्ष दिखलायी पडता है, जब शत्रुपक्ष से आक्रमण करनेवाले विभीषण को ललकार और फटकार का जवाब भी रावण-पुत्र घन-वाहन और इन्द्रजीत नम्रतापूर्वक शिर झुका कर देते हैं। उनके निवेदन इस प्रकार हैं—*"चाचा" आप*[5] हमारे लिए उसी तरह त्रिसंध्य वंदनीय हैं, जिस प्रकार परम जितेन्द्र देव। जो पिता तुल्य हैं, ऐसे कटु-भाव रखने वाले भी चाचा के साथ युद्ध करने से कौन सी कीर्ति हाथ लगेगी। ऐसा निर्णय कर वे दोनों अपने चाचा विभीषण के सामने से सोद्देश्य दूसरी ओर दूर चले *जाते*[6] *हैं।*

इसी प्रकार हम "पउमचरिउ" के अन्तर्गत अन्य पारिवारिक संबंधों को भी देख सकते हैं, क्योंकि यह भाषा काव्य आदर्श कौटुम्बिक संबंधों का साक्षात् आकार ही है।

उपर्युक्त सामासिक विवेचन को देखकर सरलता से हम जैन रामायण "पउमचरिउ" और लोक-जीवन के परस्पर संबंध को भली प्रकार समझ सकते हैं और यही तथ्य है जो काव्य और लोक-जीवन के बिम्ब-प्रतिबिम्ब भाव को प्रमाणित करता है।

१—८५।११।११

२—५०।१३।८-१०

३—१२।१०।६

४—१२।१२।३

५—६५।११।८-११

६—६५।१२।१

Max, Muller's Definitton Of Religion

By

Dr. Om Prakash Sharan,

It is borne in upon all and sundry, rather it has become custom, that no one should enter upon the discussion of any scientific problem without giving before hand definition of the principal terms that has to be employed. It is well nigh impossible to investigate any problem of religion unless we first enter on a preliminary, a sowewhat difficult enquiry, namely 'what is meant by religion? Consequently innumerable definitions have been proposed. But we find that each definition, as soon as it is stated, seems at once to provoke another which meets it by a flat denial. Nevertheless, every definition that has been proposed is either a correct description of certain aspects of religion or at least an honest evaluation of religion by the definer. This is true even with Reinach's definition where he oddly brands religion as a sum of scruples which hinder the free exercise of our powers. Let us, now, keeping this fact in view, examine as Max Müller's definition of religion with the obeject to ascertain the positive contributions Max Müller makes towards the solution of the probolem of defining religion.

Max Müller defines religion in the following words. "Religion is a mental faculty or disposition which independent of, nay inspite of sense and reason enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and under varying disguises. Without that faculty, no religion, not even the lowest worship of idols and fetishes would be possible; and if we will listen attentively, we can hear in all religions a grooming of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the in conceivable, to utter the unknowable, a longing after the Infinite, a love of god"[1]

1. Introduction to the Science of Religion—F. Max Müller; p. 13.

Later on he made an addition to this definition in the following words—"Religion consists in perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of Man"[1]

Let us explain this definition given by Max Muller. According to him it is one of the essential elements of all religious knowledge that they admit such beings where both our sense and reason, taken in their ordinary acceptation, fail to apprehend or comprehend them. And hence we feel the necessity of accepting a third faculty to apprehend the Infinite in which, according to Max Muller, religion may be said to consist. But this faculty, however, as Max Muller believes, is simply another development of sensuous perception quite as much as reason is. It is possible under certain conditions and these conditions correspond to what Max Muller calls potential energy of faith, without which no fact we have before us in religion is explicable. Max Muller is well conscious about the Positivist's blow that if with sense and reason we can force our way to a world beyond, well and good, but if not, then let us confess that all that goes by the name of religion from lowest fetishism to the most spiritual and exalted faith, is delusion. He believes that all our knowledge begins with the senses, that out of the materials, supplied by the senses, reason builds up her marvellous structure. But he does not accept that the materials supplied by senses are finite and finite only. It is true that primitive savage had nothing but his fine senses. But as Max Muller believes, it is the senses which gave the primitive savage the first intimation of infinite things and forced on them the admission of the infinite. This however, does not mean that in the first intimation of infinite 'we have all at once the full and lucid consciousness of all concepts.' Max Muller sees in this only a germ, a living germ, without which no religion would have been possible; 'It was there from the very first, but was not defined or named. So what he holds is that "with every finite perception, there is concomitant perception or if that word should seem too strong, a concomitant sentiment or presentiment of the infinite .."[2] Man's sight is limited. We can see only to a certain point and there our eye sight fails. But exactly where our eye sig breaks down there presses upon us the perception of the infinite fact we cannot have idea of finite without having impression of infin Thus Max Muller holds that 'the infinite instaed of being merely a abstraction, is really implied in the earliest manifestations of senseous knowledge.'

1. Natural Religion, the Gifford Lectures—F. Max Muller, P. 188.
2. Origin and Groth of Religion—F. Max Muller, P. 46

This perception of infinite is the seed from which all religions have sprung. Religions may differ in other respects, but so far as their origin is concerned, the seed from which they have originated is everywhere the same, the seed being the perception of the infinite that presses on everybody. Max Muller explains this theory and tries to show that the roots of religion is to be found in the feeling of the infinite which is placed in us along with that of the finite, and is awakened in us in greater or less degree from the very first perception by our senses, though it is only much later that it develops itself into the consciousness of the idea of infinite. While explaining this theory, Max Muller confines himself to the ancient Aryans of India.[1] He traces in the most interesting way the various steps of the road, which, starting from the knowledge supplied by our five senses, lead us straight, though it may be slowly, to a belief in what is not or at least not entirely supplied to us by the senses—the various disguises of the infinite, the supernatural, or the divine. He tries to show how man, under the vague desire to seek the infinite, rose from semi-tangible though relatively incomprehensible (unlimited) object, such as mountains, trees, rivers, etc. to objects intangible but yet visible, such as the phenomena of the sky, then to beings no longer visible and only to be apprehended in their effects, such as the storm—wind : and how at length all of these were comprehended in the notion, 'the shining ones' (amarta or agara), the stage at which the notion of the divine was reached. No one would suspect anything in tangible objects, such as stones, bones, shells, flowers, berries logs of wood etc., beyond which we can see and touch. But the case is different with regard to trees, mountains, rivers, or the earth. Our senses fail to take in the whole of a tree. For, though we touch a tree, sit under it, look up to it, yet there is something mysterious in it, at least for a generation unaware of any scientific development, which, in absence of a better name, we call it its life, which denotes niether warm breath nor a beating heart, but that which springs up from a ...all seed and grows into a huge tree with all its branches, leaves, ...ssoms, and fruit and at last is cut down or killed It is something s... nargo beyond the limits of our sensuous knowledge, something ...nown and strange, yet undeniable real. A tree, therefore, has ...ing intangible, something unknowable, something infinite in ... the same applies to mountains, rivers, earth etc. which at first ...em to us very simple and real and accessible to our senses. ...jects, however much familiar they may seem to us, have

1. Int... ., P. 136.

something which escape the ken of our five senses an'l is sufficient to call forth in us a feeling that we are standing in the pre..ence of powers which are invisible and infinite Even a true scientist cannot help plunging perforce deep into the sea of infinite when, being aghast at the mysterious beauties of nature he sits down with his heart and soul to unravel them. And in this state of mind he is overpowered by a mood usually similar to that of a mystic. The scientist who from time to time falls into such a mood does not feel guilty twinges as though he had lapsed in his devotion to truth, he would on the contrary feel deep concern if he found himself losing the power of entering into this kind of feeling. One like this is Mr. J. S. Hoyland who has given a vivid account of his mystical experience in the course of his scientific exploration. In his Swarthware lecture he says "There is an hour of the Indian night, little before the first glimer of dawn, when the stars are unbelievably clear and close above, shinning with a radiance beyond our belief in his foggy land. The trees stand silent around one with a friendly presence. As yet there is no sound from awakening birds, but the whole world seems to be intent, alive, listening, eager. At such a moment the veil between the things that are seen and the things that are unseen becomes so thin as to interpose scarcely any barrier at all between the eternal beauty of truth and the soul which would comprehend them."[1]

This is the first step in march towards the perception of the infinite. But all these so called semi-tangible percepts can be verified, if needed, by some of our senses. Some portions, at least, of every one of them can be touched by our hands. But there exist such objects which can be heard and seen but can never be struck with our hands, such as clouds, dawn, sky, etc. 'In all these percepts," according to Max Muller, 'the infinite preponderate over the finite, and the mind of man is driven, whether he likes it or not, to admit something beyond thefinite.'[2]

Thus Max Muller, by a simple psychological analysis reveals thre classes of things, which we can perceive with our senses, but whi leave in us three very distinct kinds of impression of reality. Altho the first class of objects viz., tangible objects do not contribu religious development—for according to Max Muller, 'fetishism, worship of stones and bones, is a retrogressive and not a prog religious development'—yet the objects, which is defined by Max

1. Science and the Unseen World—A. S. Edding'ion, P. 46-
2. Natural Religion—F. Max Muller, P, 153,

as semi-tangible and intangible objects do lend itself to religious progress. Max Muller illustrates his view with the help of early Vedas. Almost every one of the objects—semi-tangible and intangible meet us among the deities of the Veda. The semi-tangible objects, such as trees, mountains, rivers, the sea, the earth, have the germs of what Max Muller proposes to call by the name of semi-deities,[1]or 'demigods'[2], while intangible objects such as the sky, the stars, the sun, the dawn, the moon contain the germs of what he calls 'deities'[3] or great gods'[4] . But there all of these objects or semi-deities and deities at length, as Max Muller shows, are comprehended in the motion, "the shining one" (deva), the living one (asura), the 'immortal or unaging one' (amarta or agara), at which point the notion of divine was reached. Thus according to Max Muller it is clear that our ancestors proceeded from the world of sense to the world beyond the grasp of the senses, from the known to the unknown, from nature to nature's God.

Thus we see that it is not by reasoning only, as is generally supposed, that we know that there is an endless view beyond; we are actually brought in contact with it, we see and feel it the very consciousness of the finite power of our perception gives us the certainty of a world beyond, in feeling the limit, we also feel what is beyond that limit. And it is in this perception of the infinite that religion is said to consist.

But Max Muller has not settled asyet the exact limit of what really constitutes religion. He is conscious that science also deals with the infinite or much with that which lies beyond the horizon of our sensuous perception. If the objects like mountain, rivers, trees, sky, sun, moon, dawn and wind are capable of rousing religious emotions within human heart, they can be subject of scientific observation as well. So with a view to avoid any confusion, Max Muller restricts the use of adjective 'religious' to those perception of the unknown or the infinite which influence man's actions and his whole moral nature.' He admits "that mere theories about the infinite, unless they influence human conduct have no right to the name of religion...[5] . He holds the view that so long as perception of the infinite causes us to admit an agent behind the events of nature we are not in the sphere of religion but in the province of mythology. We are on the threshold of religion when we pray to god fo not promises beautiful offerings if they fulfil our desire. But we are on

1. Origin and Growth of Religion—F. Max Muller. P. 186,
2. ...atural Religion—F. Max Muller, P. 154.
3. ...rigin and Growth of Religion F. Max Muller, P. 186.
4. ...tural Religion F Max Muller, P, 154.
5. Intd. P. 193.

religious ground when our faith in personal agents as manifested in such phenomena as dawn, storm, rain, thunder, lightning etc. influences man's moral nature and actions.

This is the cursory detail of Max Muller's definition of religion. This definition of religion has received the support of a large number of both the philosophers and historians, and for that very reason it has attracted great amount of objections too.

What has been chiefly objected to in Max Muller's definition is that he speaks of religion as mental faculty. The word 'faculty' has often been used in the sense of 'something substantial. But Max Muller sees nothing of substantial about the word 'faculty' but only a mode of action. 'It is not substantial by itself but something which is inherent in substance quite as much as forces or powers are.' Max Muller, however, agrees to discard the word 'faculty' and to use 'potential energy' instead.

But what has received most hostile attack is the word 'infinite'. Engen V. Schmidt objects to Max Muller's definition by saying that the fundamental notion of divine is not that of infinite as Max Muller tells us but rather it should be that of the power which governs the world. He is of the view that we should not explain the gods of any mythology with the help of language to find a suitable figurative expression for the notion of the infinite. The explanation must proceed from the notion of God itself. the world governing power having first been thought to be the natural phenomena itself, the whole, that is to say, of nature, then the soul in the phenomena, and than the spirit above them. And this being the case the conscious idea of the infinite cannot be the root of the belief in the gods.

Schmidt's objections to Max Muller are directed against his earlier statements than against the latest expression of his views which is contained in his Hildeort Lectures[1] . Here Max Muller gives direct lie to the above objection. "The gods would not be called infinite, but rather unconquerable, imperishable, undecaying, immortal, unborn, present everywhere, knowing everything and at the very last only should we expect for them names of so abstract a nature as infinite".[2] The infinite was there from the very first, because had it not been the case, such a word as infinite would be a sound and nothing else. But this idea was not yet defined or named. It was not the conscious idea of the infinite but only presentiment of the idea that Max Muller holds to

1, Grigin and Growth of Religion.
2. Gp Cit, P, 23?.

have been there. It was certainly this presentiment of the idea which led men from the first to suspect the presence, behind the appearance of the world to the senses in space and time, of a higher being, spirit of his spirit, not confined in these limits.

But a more determined attack comes from a different quarter namely that of Edward Caird. To him Max Muller's definition is defective as the term infinite is for him the bare negation of the finite. [1] According to him Max Muller's 'infinite is merely the negative counterpart of the finite reality'[2] "The view of professor Max Muller", says Caird, "is that the infinite, which is the object of religion, is to be taken as primarily the negative of the finite, as a Beyond to which we reach out from the firm ground of the infinite, but which we cannot define in itself." According to him Max Muller adds the infinite to the finite, and that addition being merely external Max Muller's infinite remains a bare word "Not." This being the case it is well-nigh impossible to bow the knee to this bare word 'Not'. If there is any case of worship of a being, whose only predicate is the absence of all predicates, it is only because man in the ease is intending more than what it is. In fact the infinite as a mere beyond, or the negative counterpart of the finite seeks another idea of an infinite which is not merely the negation of the finite but its positive presupposition. Thus Edward Caird holds that 'the idea of the infinite as a mere 'Beyond' is an imperfect thought, a thought which does not realise its own meaning, for if our consciousness of the finite did not presuppose the idea of the infinite and were not based on it, we could not seek for the latter beyond the former.'

Caird's second objection to Max Muller's definition is that it does not give us what is common to all religions. According to him Max Muller maintains that the idea of the infinite is latent in religion from the first, and that as religion develops, it necessarily becomes explicit, in order to show that the idea is essential to all religions. But this clearly implies, according to Caird, that there are many religions which do not rise to the explicit consciousness of this idea of the infinite [3] .

Let us now see whether Mr. Caird is justified in his views or not. There are ample reasons to believe that Max Muller's infinite is not something negative. There are many passages which directly or indirectly tell us that it is not, as Caird supposes, simply a negative abstraction. "To say", Max Muller says, "that the infinite is a negative

1 The Evolution of Religion Edward Caird Vol. I, P. 96-
2. Ibid., P. 100-
3. Ibid., P. 92 and P. 115.

abstract concept, it is mere playing with the words". [1] Max Muller's view is that 'abstraction will never give us more than that from which we abstract' [2]. If we have serial or correlative concept then in that case we can form a negative abstract concept, but not otherwise. But, at least in one sense, Max Muller finds that, even in these concepts which may be called by logicians negative concepts, there is nothing negative. "If we take corelative concepts such as, crooked and straight then not straight may by logicians be called a negative concept, but it is in reality quite as positive as crooked, not straight being crooked not crooked being straight" [3]. And the same may be said with regard to finite. According to a premise there is nothing known to us outside the concept of the infinite. ‵ow if we want to form a really negative concept then we should not add any ordinary negative particle to it. But negative concept thus formde, i. e. infinite, accoιding to the premise, would simply comprise nothing. This being the case Max Muller concludes that "infinite .... cannot be treated simply as a negative concept. If it were no more than that, it would be a word formed by false analogy, and signify nothing."

Thus Caird's charge fails. There are other passages also which show the inadequacy of the criticism of Max Muller's conception of religion that his infinite is negative being and that he does not support the theory that "it is not because of what the finite is, but mainly because of what it is not, that we seek refuge in infinite," [4] a theory which, Caird thinks, finds its full support in Spencer's conception of infinite which is purely affirmative Being. "It is not enough to show", Max Muller says, "that man has always transcended the limits which sense and reason seem to trace for him. It is not enough to show that in the worship paid to the objects of nature, the mountains, trees, and rivers are not simply what we can see, but something else which we cannot see: and that when the sky and the heavenly bodies are invoked, it is not the sun or the moon and the stars such as they appear to the bodily eye, but again something else which cannot be seen, that forms the objects of religious belief" [5].

Max Muller, however, admits that in one sense perception of the infinite may be said as perception of something negative, i e., when perception of infinite taken in itself apart from the perception of the

1. Origin and Growth of Religion F. Max Mu'ler, P. 28.
2, Ibid., P. 28.
3. Ib'd , P, 29.
4. The Ev.luti n of Religion, Edward Caird, Vol. I, P. 106.
5, Origin and Growth of Religion, F, Max Mniler P. 34.

fiinite, perception of something which is not finite, "and of which therefore we can predicate nothing except that it is."[1] But Max Muller is very explicit in saying that "the infinite instead of being merely a late abstraction, is really implied in the earliest manifestation of our sensuous knowledge."[2] According to him psychologically it is impossible for human mind, while discovering infinite behind the finite, to draw a line where the finite ends and the infinite begins. For example, in so far as primitive men perceived the sky as blue or grey, having its horizon etc. they pereceived a finite, but at the same time they perceived the infinite also because they felt that beyond what they saw of the sky there is and must be an infinite complement which no eye could see. "The infinite *per se*," Max Muller says, 'as a mere negative, would have had no interest for primitive man; but as the background, as the support, as the subject or the cause of the finite in its many manifestations, it comes in from the earliest period of human thought.'[3]

We cannot see what led Caird to assume that Max Muller's infinite is only negative concept. This charge has no basis. But equally baseless is the second objection. Max Muller by maintaining that the idea of the infinite is the basis of all religions, does maintain that which is common to all religions. Max Muller's definition is applicable not only to the religion of Buddha, who declined to dogmatise on the Beyond, but even to imperfect type of religion where idea of infinite is latent and not explicit. Max Muller mentions one very imperfect type of religion and yet very real one and therefore a real power for good. Max Muller tells the story of an old lady[4] whom a traveller met in his travels. When the traveller asked about her religion that poor lady could not understand what he wanted to know. But when at last she could guess what he wanted to know she said, "Every morning I step out of my tent and bow before the sun, and say "when thou risest, I too rise from my bed". And every evening I say "when thou sinkest down, I too sink down to rest." That was her poor prayer and yet who can deny that at least for her it was religion, that her life was bound up with a larger and higher life, that she could feel a Beyond which is the true life of all religions.

Max Muller's definition includes Buddhism also within its wide net. Although there is no mention of God or Infinite or Beyond in Buddhism, yet the practical side of Buddhism-its belief in transmigration and

1. Natural Religion, F. Max Muller, P. 149.
2. Orig'n and Growth of Religion, F. Max Muller, P 39.
3. Natural Religion, F. Max Muller P. 149
4. Dr. Otto Pfleiderer also tells this story in his book "The Philosophy of Religion" Vol. III, P. 25.

never-resting wheel of the world—presupposed a look that had pierced beyond the finite. Buddhists find an eternal moral law but that moral law was not reasoned out in our sense of the word. Buddha found it, discovered it, in a supersensuous state. Those who have studied the life of Buddha even as briefly given in that beautiful Poem, The Light of Asia, may remember that Buddha is represented as sitting under the Bo-tree until he reached that supersensuous state of mind. All his teaching came through this, and not through intellectual cogitation.

This reaching out to supersensuous state of existence, to the infinite perfection is prerogative of every religion. In all organised religions, their founders, prophets, and messengers are declared to have gone into states of mind in which they came face to face with new facts relating to what is called spiritual kingdom. We close our dissertation with Swami Vivekananda's remark on religion which supports Max Muller's view: "All the religions, from lowest fetishism to the highest absolutism, mean so many attempts of the human soul to grasp and realise the infinite.................."[26]

26. Complete work of Swami Vivekanand, Birth Centenary Edition, 1963, Vol. I. P. 332.



Religous Condition Of India At the Time Of Emperor Asoka

NGUYEN-THANH-KUINH

Buddhism and other religions.

Much earlier before Asoka, there lived Aryan tribes on the border of north-west of India. According to Vedas, probably these tribes invaded into India in the period between 1500 and 900 B. C.. Before they spread abroad and gave birth to many parts of India, they lived in a group of small communities. In the succeeding centuries they destroyed the Indus Valley Civilization and from the time their power quickly preponderated from the Punjab to the plain of the Ganges. Tribal organizations settled into Kingdoms and religion took shape with a very considerable development of sacrificial rites.

Their original religion was holding a vast number of different spirits; each supposed to have only a single function. They were like Indo-European people who believed in many gods. They worshipped the heavenly powers by means of sacrifice and prayer and with the help of priests. The horse sacrifice, for instance, had a political significance. A consecrated horse was set at liberty to roam at will for one year after which it was sacrificed. They also laid great stress on the worship of their ancestors, and this ritual formed the foundation on which all the institutions of the Aryan-Hindu family were built.

The sacrifice, meanwhile, had been greatly elaborated. A ritual had been established and administered by the Brahmin class. These rituals are reflected in certain collection of hymn in the sacred Books of Veda. The corpus of Veda forms the Essential canon of sacred scriptures in the orthodox Hindu tradition.

The worship of the Rigveda is summed up in the sacrifice. he priests, the housholder, and his family gathered in the open air ere preparations had been made. The altars were shallow trenches according to rule and filled with sacrificial grass. Close by were hree sacred fires, and the sacrificial posts to which the victims were . The priest pressed the soma, and set it out in cups. They killed imals, poured offerings of butter, milk, and grain on the fires and out food on the grass covered altars. All the while they recited,

chanted, or muttered portions of the hymns, inviting the gods to the sacrifice and asking for their favour and help. The home of the gods being now believed to be in heaven, it was the common place to send the sacrifice to them on the frame and smoke of the altar fire. The drink of the gods offered in sacrifice was the juice of plant called Soma in Sanskrit; Laoma in Zend, the language of the Avesta.

The belief about the dead also made considerable progress. Burning had almost universally taken the place of burying; probably from a wish to release the soul as completely as possible from the body and to bear it away on the flame of the pyre to the heavenly regions. When men die, they are believed to go to heaven, where they join the company of glorified ancestors and enjoy immortality with the gods. They are also invited to the sacrifice in the same way as the gods. They are believed to be very powerful.

The priests were, meanwhile, regarded as saintly figures. They are Brahmin, the first top of the four classes in Varna-the classes of society. Although the King is powerful but lower than them in rank and he has to honour them accordingly. The greatest of all was the chief's chaplain the purohita; but all were revered for their sacred knowledge and skill, for the power they wielded over the gods. They were also divided by function into three groups; the hotris or reciters; the udgatis or chanters; the adhvaryus or sacrificers. Each of which treasured a group of hymns and which were believed to be of priceless worth for their influence over the gods. Towards the end of the period, we find the evidence of the existence of these schools in which young priests were trained. The education was necessarily oral, and the one subject of study was the hymns used at the sacrifices.

However, from the 8th century B. C. the writing down of the Upanishads enshrined metaphysical and religious doctrines of the orthodox beliefs became the most important source of the theological thought of the later Hinduism.

Again, when Jainism and Buddhism appeared; the orthodox Aryan tradition had almost been affected deeply. Though both emerged fro[illegible] A non-Aryan background, they were expressed in terms of Aryan cultur[illegible] Buddhism as well as Jainism slowly increased in influence. They fo[illegible] time threatened to replace Hinduism as the major faith of the ortho[illegible] people. They are called Sramanas, those who adhered to heter[illegible] philosophical and religious views. Their teachings prescribed t[illegible] completely non-indulgent in pleasure and prosperity of life. O[illegible] contrary, the Brahmanas' view was absorbed in happiness and [illegible]

perity of worldly life. They are, indeed strongly opposed to each other. The Sramana tradition had always sniffed at the violence involved in the Brahmanical sacrifices. This idea is reflected in Rock Edict I where Asoka says that one should not perform sacrifices by killing animals. This clearly shows Asoka's faith in the Sramanic religion as against the Vedic religion of the old. Once the Buddha was asked to perform some of these rites he said : 'And as for your saying that for the sake of Dharma I should carry out the sacrifice ceremonies which are customary in my family and which bring the destined fruit, I do not approve of sacrifices for I do not care for happiness which is sought at the price of other's suffering' (Buddhacarita, 11, 64).

Before the time of Mahavira and the Buddha, the Sramanic culture did exist. According to mythology, Parsva was supposed to have passed away 246 years before the birth of Mahavira. But Parsva's predecessor is mythologically dated at eighty-four thousand years earlier. Parsva's life foreshadows the main pattern of the stories both of the Buddha and of Mahavira. Prior to his birth, he was living in heaven. When the time came for his descent to earth, he entered the womb of the queen Varma. As a child he played a remarkable and heroic disdain for the concerns and delights of worldly life. He wished to renounce both the worldly and his fathers throne to become a recluse (sannyasi) in the forest. Eventually. through the practice of austerity and of yoga, he attained omniscience and assurance of liberation from this world. Thereafter he taught mankind the saving doctrines which were the pattern of Mahavira's and the Buddha's doctrines. However the Sramanic culture came into prominence in the period of religious Renaissance brought about by the Lord Buddha and Mahavira. Later, the Brahmanic thoughts were gradually influenced and preponderated by Sramanic culture and the former then included the Sramanic theories and practice in their religious system.

All these religious sects had been mentioned repeatedly by Asoka in his Edicts. By Brahmana he did not mean only those who were Brahmanas by birth only; but also those engaged in religious, [illegible]iestly and teaching work. By Sramanas were meant those who were [illegible]endicants and ascetics and adhered to heterodox philosophical views. [illegible]t the Sramana organizations were also divided into different schisms. [illegible]gha is mentioned in Rock Edict 7, Minor Rock Edict, Lumbini [illegible]r Inscription, Nigalisagar Pillar Inscription and Bairat Buddhist [illegible]s Edict. Sangha no doubt means the order of the Bhuddhist. They [illegible] founded by Lord Buddha. The characteristic social dimension of [illegible]dhism is represented chiefly by the Sangha. Originally this was

composed of groups of wandering mendicants. They must make their living by begging. This reflects too the duty of the layman to maintain the Sangha through almsgiving. Monk and layman were bound together in mutual obligation. They believed in the operation of Karma-cause and effect are only source of the entire worldly manifestations. They denied to believe in eternal souls or self. They followed the enunciation of the three characteristics of individual existence as anounced by Lord Buddha-Dukkha, Anatta and Anicca. Buddhism set its face both against Jainism and Hinduism.

Next, another sect mentioned in Pillar Edict 7 is Nirganthas, the name by which the Jainas were known in ancient times. Their last Tirthankara was Mahavira and was elder contemporary of Buddha but the sect was at least two and half centuries older than Mahavira. They and Buddhist were hostile to each other. The Nirganthas beleived in individual souls, in the efficacy of physical mortifications for shaking off the soul's bondage in physical matter (pudgala), and purusakara and karma as deciding the destiny of man.

Again the Barabar Cave Inscription 1, 2 and Pillar Edict 7 mention another kind of nude sect who also believed in the existence of individual souls, in the efficacy of physical mortifications, and in the predestined fate. They were also strongly opposed to Nirganthas. Their last Tirthankara having been Gosala Mankhaliputra, an elder contemporary of and who predeceased Mahavira, the Jaina Tirthankara. It is held by some that early in his ascetic career, Mahavira was a disciple of Gosala for some six years, from whom Mahavira borrowed nudity but subsequently they separated on grounds of doctrinal differences and became bitter opponents. The Inscriptions of Asoka reflect the dominance of the Buddhists among the Sramanic religions. After the Kalinga war the King viz. Asoka felt repentance for all the killings and cruelties caused by him. He wanted to give up all killings and lead a life of peace and friendship. Jainism too could have given him an opportunity for this. But the King was drawn towards Buddhism This fact may lead us to conclude that Buddhism at the time had a greater aura of charm than Jainism or any other Sramanic religions—the more so when we consider the fact that Asoka's grand father, the great Candragupta was a Jain.

In Asoka's time the Buddhist Sangha was in a flourishing condition. It consisted of both monks and nuns The emperor respectfully pays his homage to the Sangha and takes pride in the fact that he approached the Sangha--he could exert himself more and achieve greater results since he approached the Sangha.

The Calcutta-Bairat Rock Inscription mentions the following Buddhist texts :—(1) Vinayasamukesa, (2) Aliya-vasasi, (3) Anagata-bhayas, (4) Munigathas, (5) Moneya Suta, (6) Upatisapasina and (7) Laghulovada. The King wants the monks and the nuns and the laymen and the laywomen to apply themselves to study and practice of these texts. Among these the Vinayasamukasa is identified with Buddha's first Sermon. Aliya-Varsas and Anagata-bhayas occur in Anguttara-nikaya, Munigatha, Moneya-Suta, and Uptisapasina in Suttanipata and Laghulovada in the Majjhima-Nikaya.

The corner stone of the Sramanic religion is Ahimsa or non-violence. The Brahmanic scriptures also prescribe non-violence but in sacrifice they would permit it. For obtaining heaven one had to perform sacrifice and animals could be killed in the sacrifices. The Sramanas denounced sacrifices and all kinds of killings and cruelties. Observance of Ahimsa itself will bring heaven to the aspirant, nay, it will take him to the highest goal of emancipation complete freedom from the cycle of birth and death. But non-violence in the Sramanic tradition also was more or less limited to personal life, it brought religious merit and emancipation to the person practising it. It was not advocated as the instrument of social good, as was later done by Gandhi.

The great leaders like the Buddha and Mahavira did not ever forbid the Kings to wage wars against their enemies. In this context it is of great importantce that Asoka practised and preached complete non-indulgence in wars that involved violence. He opted for another kind of victory—victory through Love and Virtue. Even then today this idea has been also reflected on the Mahatma Gandhi's mind who applied the tactics of non violence to gain a glorified victory over the enemies.

Asoka's attitude towards religions.

Although Asoka was a Buddhist, he never chose to impose his personal faith on his people. He held the balance of generosity evenly among all sects. His granting of cave-dwelling to the Ajivikas, or promoting the interests of Brahmans, Ajivikas and Nirganthas equally with the Buddhists through the agency of his officers, the Dharma Maha-[illegible]ras are evidences in question. He also favoured the sect of worshippers of the previous Buddhas by doubly enlarging the stupa of Buddha Konakamana and paying a personal visit to the shrine. And what [illegible]soka inculcated in his Edicts displays a lofty spirit of toleration. Libe-[illegible]lity to Brahmanas and Sramanas is always emphasized as a public duty [illegible]ock edict 3, 9) and proper behaviour to them must be equally paid [illegible]ock edict 4, Pillar edict 7).

In his pious tours, he extended his visits to all ascetics and Brahmanas with liberality to them (Rock Edict 8). He also ordered a decree to remove the previous distinction obtaining between sects and wished that they should reside everywhere; they all are given the same honour (Rock edict 7). In other Edicts, it is stated that' the King does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics or house-holders, by gifts and various forms of reverence.

It is, however,, worthy to note that there are a few other facts which take away from his toleration to some extent. The prohibition of sacrificial slaughter of animals was an interference with a prescribed form of Brahmanical religious worship. He openly expresses his disapprobation of certain rites and ceremonies (Rock edict I). These performances are essential features of Brahmanical religion (Rock edict 9). The sacredness of the lower animal life was disproportionately emphasized, while the sacredness of human life was not recognized by abolishing capital punishment. The only concession in this regard shown by Asoka was the three day's reprieve which was granted to convicts condemned to death. This period might be utilized by their relations to get them a revision of the sentence (Pillar edict 4) as well as the institution of jail deliveries on the anniversary of his coronation (Ib. and Pillar edict 5).

And we also may note that what appealed most to the essentially spiritual mind of Asoka was not an external care for life but its inner development. As a Buddhist, Asoka took more interest in the regulations of spiritual life than in those formal rules of the Sangha. Yet he was keenly interested in the Sangha's prosperity and in preventing them from disunion. His teaching of Dharma is of a general nature. It was not exclusively Buddhist; it was his own religion. We hear from him nothing concerning the deeper ideas or fundamental tenets of Buddhism. And there is no mention of the Four Grand Truths, the Eightfold Path the chain of causation, and even the supernatural quality of Buddha; the word and the idea of Nirvana fail to occur; and the innumerable points of difference which occupied the several sects are likewise ignored (Cambridge History, p. 505). As also pointed out by Vincent Smith; 'The zeal of Asoka for Buddhism is proved not by his references to the canon, by the cast of his language, by his pilgrimages to Buddhist holy places, and by his active control of the church' (Asoka p. 60).

The Dharma of the Edicts is not any particular Dharma or religiou system, but only the Moral Law independent of any caste or creed. is the essence of all religions (Rock edict 12). His Dharma compose of an essential code of conducts of life—Obedience to parents, respect

to elders, proper behaviour to Brahmanas and Sramanas, non-killing the living beings, restraint of violence towards living beings and non-violence towards life. Through this code of conducts, the King no doubt aimed at the purity of domestic life that is so essential to the well-being of society, of which the family is the basis. The circle of domestic relations embraced even the Brahmanas and Sramanas. It also embraced the lower animals, whose claim to kind treatment by their human masters cannot be regarded (Rock edict 3, 4, 9, 13 and Pillar edict 7). Thus one plainly perceives that the religion preached in the Inscriptions is a sort of practical morality useful for the well-being of society as a whole. Asoka's moral code has a striking similarity with that of Videra in the Mahabharata. But at places he shows very great leaning towards Ahimsa-non-violence. On certain days some certain animals were declared inviolable and no animals should be killed, castrated or even marked on those days. Forest and grass with life were not to be burnt. Animals were not to be fed with flesh of other animals. This is a great predilection towards Ahimsa and greater than what would be generally required of a Buddhist layman. In his practice of Ahimsa, the King seems closer to the Jainas.

Lastly, we see that Asoka was preaching for a peaceful co-existence of all the religious sects. He also deliberately asked people to control their speech and not to criticize other religious sects out of way. On occasions they might criticize but the criticism had to be mild and moderate. Further he says: 'By criticizing other sects one soils his own sect; but by not criticizing one help his own sect and in this way all sects prosper. I only want the properiety of all sects'. Again, in the pillar edict 6, he asserts: 'I devote my attention to all communities, for the followers of all denominations are honoured by me and the honour is paid in various forms. Nevertheless, showing personal regard for them is the chief thing in my opinion.' Thus being a Buddhist in his personal life, the king shows a perfect balance in his attitude towards all the religious sects of his time.

Asoka's personal religion.

From Buddhist literature we learn that Asoka was a Buddhist and patron of Buddhism. The Kashmir Historian Kalhana also informs us that Asoka adopted the religion of Buddha and built many stupas. According to the Dipavamsa, Asoka became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (Upasaka), and the accounts of the Mahavamsa and of Samantapasadika contain the same fact. On the other hand, there is no work, literary or scriptural which says that he had embraced any other faith although there are, too, some dispute among scholars that he was a Jaina at the

first and became a Buddhist afterwards. However, we shall see, now what he himself expressed in his Edicts. In Minor rock edict I, he tells us of the stage of his progress towards Buddhism, and according to the reading of Minor rock edict I, Maski and Rupnath, by Hultzsch, he also openly declared himself to be a 'Sakya' or a 'SakyaBuddha' i. e. a Buddhist; The Rummindei Inscription, again, informs us that in the twentieth year of his reign Asoka visited in person the place where Buddha was born and did worship there. It is evident from this that already in his twentieth regnal year he was a Buddhist. Again, in Rock Edict 8, Asoka says that in the tenth year of his reign he paid visit to Sambodhi, the place where the Buddha had attained perfect Knowledge. According to the company of the Sthavira Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 gold pieces. This Rock Edict thus proves that in the tenth year of his reign Asoka was already a Buddhist. And from the Calcutta Bairat Rock Inscription I we learn that the king paid his respect to the Buddha, Sangha, and Dharma, and recommended to monks and nuns, to laymen and laywomen, the study of seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist Canon. In the Kausambi Sanchi and Sarnath Pillar Edicts he again orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the Sangha. This order of the King is known to the tradition of the southern Buddhist.

There is evidence that Asoka was converted to Buddhism. This evidence is supplied by Minor Rock Edict I, copies of which have been found at no less than nine different places. He begins this Edict by saying : It is more than two years and half that I am a lay-worshipper. But I did not exert myself for one year, but for more than one year, since I have approached the Sangha I have exerted myself strenuously. When therefore, this Edict was engraved, he had already been a Buddhist for just less than three years. This Edict, again, described his work as if a zealot in much terms that it reminds us of his Rock Edict 4. But it is worthy to not that Rock Edict 4 refers to the twelfth year of his reign He, therefore, must have embraced Buddhism not more than three years before this date, that is, in the ninth year of his reign. So he became a Buddhist, as we have just seen. But for one year he was lukewarm and did little for the propagation of Buddhism. He then lived with the Sangha for over a year and put forth ardent missionary activity at th end of this year, that is, in the twelfth year of his reign.

The second period of Asoka's religious life began with a cours action which he thus described in Rock Edict 8, 'For a long time p Kings used to go out on tours of pleasure (Vihara-Yatra). On the to there were hunting and other sports. But, now King Priyadarsin,

Beloved of gods paid a visit to Sambodhi when he had been consecrated tenth year. Hence, this touring became Dharma touring. (Dharma Yatra) Here Asoka tells us that up till the tenth year of his reign; he, like the previous Kings used to find his relaxation in tours of pleasure where he indulged in hunting and other sports. In that year, however, he gave up the idea of ever going on these pleasure tours and started religious tours instead. So in the tenth year of his reign Asoka was already a Buddhist.

Moreover, tradition also testifies that Asoka paid his respects to the Buddha by collecting his relics and erecting the stupas in which they were enshrined, and he redistributed Buddha's relics among the 84000 stupas of his own creation. He also bestowed alms on 6000 Buddhist monks in his own palace. According to Buddhist tradition there are numerous stupas which are said to have been erected by him all over the country from Kapisa to Orissa. These places are also associated with his religious tour as mentioned in Yuan-Chwang's account. Again, It-Sing says that he saw an image of Asoka dressed in the garb of Buddhist monk. There is a passage in the Divyavadana stating that Asoka died, divested of all power, renouncing the world, and becoming a Buddhist monk.

Lastly, we may note Asoka's attachment to the definite Buddhist symbol in Edicts, the symbol of white elephant, indicated by an inscription at Girnar at the end of Rock Edict 13. Again, the same figure has been cut on the rock at Dhauli and incised at Kalsi with the label Gajatame 'the most perfect elephant'. The elephant recalls the Buddha descending in that form into the womb of his mother; so that there is here an attempt on the part of Asoka to dedicate his Edicts as it were to the Buddha. Along with this association of the inscriptions with the elephant we should also note the three other animals which are mentioned along with the Elephant. The Bull, the Horse, and the Lion. These figures on the capitals of the pillars are chosen as symbols of different stages in the life of the Buddha. Thus the Elephant typifies the conception, the Bull the Navity, the Horse the great Departure [illegible](Renunciation) and the Lion the Lion among the Sakyas (Sakya-Simha, [illegible] pat[illegible]pellation by which the Buddha was known. The lion also repre-[illegible]thants Buddha as the great preacher whose teachings defeat and silence [illegible]ging [illegible]vals.

Again, we have recently got a new reference to Asoka's Buddhism [illegible]h is published in the "Indian Nation Newspaper" by Mr. G. S. [illegible]yanan, the head of the department of History of Calicut University the leader of a relic-study-team. The team concludes on the

evidence of the relics and monuments which are recently found in Sanchi and Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh, that emperor Asoka had been associated with Buddhism much earlier than the Kalinga war. They discovered some new Mauryan Brahmi Inscriptions at the Buddhist complex at Sanchi near Bhopal. One of them which mentions an envoy of Bindusara is of unique importance. The discovery of his name on a fragmentary granite pillar Inscription at Sanchi near old Vidisha, would overthrow many cherised notions about the sudden emergence of Brahmi Script and Mauryan art in the time of Asoka.

The Team pointed out that the pre-Asokan structures and early history of the Vihara at Sanchi would establish that his association with Buddhism was at a date earlier than that of the Kalinga war. This could be confirmed by the fact that Bindusara had sent Asoka as his Viceroy to Ujjain and Asoka had married a Buddhist woman from Vidisha, who gave birth to Mahendra and Sanghamitrā.

The team said that it had checked and verified the correctness of its findings. Though they might seem so sensational, they possess far reaching importance in the field of ancient Indian History and culture.

The team, again, said that the decipherment of the Brahmi script and its dating by an epigraphist member of the team were supported by a comparative study of all the known inscriptions of the Mauryan age.

Though Asoka was a Buddhist he never tried to impose his religion on his people. The moral teachings that he engraved on rocks and pillars were of general nature and there is not anything particularly Buddhist in them. He preached and practised harmonious coexistence of different religious sects.

Reviews :

The *Nyāyabinduṭikā* of Dharmottar with the Nyayabindu of Dharmakīrti along with critical Introduction Hindi translation and notes by Prof. Srinivas Sastri, 1975 Sahitya Bhandar Meerath. Price Rs. 17.00

The Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti has several times been published in India andabroad along with the commentary of Dharmottara. The edition thereof, by Prof. Dalsukhbhai Malvania offers the subcommentary of Durvekamiśra also. There are some more texts elucidating the Nyāyabindu amongst which the commentary of Vinītadeva available in Tibetan has recently been reconstituted. A Hindi translation on the materials available was felt a necessity. It is very heartening to note that Dr. Sastri's edition fills up this lacunae. It gives the correct text and the translation in lucid and at the same time critical offering comparative notes on difficult expressions and problems on the basis of authentic materials.

It is hoped that the edition will be well-received.

A. L. Thakur

Meghadūta Ṭikā of Krishnapati critically edited by Prof. Gopikamohan Bhattacharya, Kuruksetra University, Kuruksetra University Sanskrit Series-Text No 1. 1974, Price Rs 15. 00.

Here is a learned exposition of the famous text of Kālidāsa by a Maithila Scholar, discovered at a great distance. The author Krishnapati gives his alias Bahorana and his father was Bonai of the Khawal family. He gives his date in the Lakṣmaṇasamvat (541) as is usual with the Maithila Scholars. The learned author utilises works by Maithila authors some of which including those of his maternal grandfather Bhavanand Thakur are not extant. The text of Krishnapati also shows leanings towards the eastern version of the Meghaduta. The commentary is thus eloquent. about the land of its origin.

The learned editor in his preface, introduction and notes have discussed all the important aspects of the commentary. He has spared no pains to constitute the commentary from imperfect manuscript material.

The psesent volume will add to the existing commentary literature on the Meghadūta and its publication has proved that works of Maithila scholars are not confined within Mithila or Bihar but travelled to different parts of the country.

A. L. Thakur

Vijñaptimtāratasiddhi of Vasubandhu with Viṃśatikāvritti of Vasubandhu and Triṃśatikāvijñapti bhaṣya of Sthiramati edited and translated into Bengali with Introduction and notes by Dr. Sukomal Chaudhuri. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No 96. 1975; Price Rs. 12.00 only.

The volume under review presents the two very important tracts of Vasubandhu with the auto-commentary on the first and the commentary of Sthiramati, a disciple of the author--their Bengali Translation. The editor has thoroughly revised the Sanskrit texts and utilised all the available editions and translations in preparing his text and translation. It is a matter of great satisfaction that his texts and translation have made marked improvement. The Introduction and notes also are very carefully prepared covering various important aspects about the works authors and the system. It can now legitimatey be hoped that the learned author will prepare similar other editions of the works of Vasubandhu and his followers in the Vijñānavāda school.

We congratulate the author and the publishers for presenting this nice volume to the world of scholars and hope that the volume will be welcome to the students of Indian philosophy in general and Buddhist philosophy in particular.

Anantalal Thakur.

The Vyakti-Viveka of Rājānaka Mahimabhaṭṭa (Pt. I) edited with Bengali Translation and elaborate exposition by Vishnupada Bhattacharya, MA., P. R. S., Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Sanskrit College Research Series No 91, 1975. Price Rs. 25.00.

The present volume offers the dhavanilaksaṇi kṣepa section Mahimabhaṭṭa's work. The Sanskrit text is followed by translation exposition in Bengali and both are equally helpful to understand not-too-easy arguments of the philosopher rhetorician-Mahimabh whose work remained a hard nut to the students of Alaṃkāra Śā

since its first publication. Principal Bhattacharya's elaborate exposition is lucid and based upon a thorough study of philosophical and rhetrorical texts. It is expected that the work will soon be completed and along with his learned exposition on the Dhvanyāloka will become a must for every serious student of Sanskrit literature.

An English version of this learned work will be welcome to many.

Anantalal Thakur.

Śālabhañjikā in Art, Philosophy and Literature Dr. Uday Narain Roy, Publishers-Lokbharati Publications, Allahabad, pp. 96 Illustrations 70, Price Rs. 150.

Women as mother or beloved and as an object of beauty and joy has ever remained an inspiration to the artists and litterateurs all over the world. To the primitive man the fact of birth of a fellow being was at once the most amazing and mysterious thing, and the women through whose womb he came out was naturally considered the only concretised source. And the mother idea engripped him, the Nature and Divinity to him combined in her. She was taken to be the source of Life, the fertility and the plant or tree which also appeared to shootforth and grow out of the womb of the earth became to him the mysterious symbol of growing life. The Earth, the Tree or Plant and the Mother thus tended to be fused into one another-the manifestations of the same concept of Vital life-force concretised. In India we find this idea persisting and getting transformed into earth or stone figures as objects of worship, or awe or mystery since the prehistoric. Unfortunately till recently we have had not discovered the late paleolithic-neolithic, in stone 'Venuses' as in Europe going to 20000-15000 years ago. But from among the finds in the Gravel III of the Belan valley (19715+ 340 B. P.) Sankalia (*Prehistoric Art in India pp.* 7-8) picked up a shell object carved in the form of female figurine (though he is aware of the vague statement that some of the burins were actually found with the bone-figurine) and regarded it as India's earliest dated art work of human origin. A few neolithic sites excavated so far in India have not yielded any human figurine, stone, terracotta or bone, but from Oriup Bhagalpur district in Bihar was picked up a small terracotta female figurine in shape and features resembling mother goddess figurines of West Asia and Europe. Thus Oriup find was definitely in Chalcolithic

Context but unfortunately a small trial excavation could not settle the actual significance of the discovery. But the Harappan sites are quite generous in giving us female-figurines in terracottas, engraved on sleatile seals and even in cast-bronze. Some of these figures are definitely cult-objects and some have clear association with tree and plants confirming the mother-and-tree (plant) as a dominant cult-motif. It is unnecessary to demonstrate the persistent and vigorous continuity of the motif in the historical period of India. But it was a great need to examine, classify and explain this motif represented in varied art forms and to find textual support for these manifestations.

Dr. Roy has done this in a remarkably competent way. It has been rightly pointed out that the 'motif' originally was a usual representation of *Udyanakrida*·sports in garden by ladies in eastern India and on the basis of actual extant reported examples it has been well brought out of how and why this motif became popular in the Buddhist art from the beginning because of the association of Māyādevī with the śāla tree at the time of the birth of the Buddha and it is obvious that it was not difficult since then to view the motif as not only 'a sport-scene' but a sacred mother-cult motif, often overriding the simple fertility and playful ideas. But in the artistic delineation of the entire motif the tree with its drooping branches and blossoming flowers almost·is at one with the beautiful undulating female form in full youth capable of attaining motherhood. A historical presentation, fairly pictorial, of the evolution and developments of this artistic conception down to the post-Gupta period, highlights the essential indigenous character of this themetic art-motif with traces of some Hellenistic influence in the Kushaṇa times, which completely evaporated by the Gupta period. What is very significant and admirably described by the author is the continuing two strains of the Śālabhañjikā motif-the Māyādevī motif giving birth to the Buddha, and the other playful scantly dressed tantalising damsel sporting with the śāla-tree. The author has also graphically described, and skilfully corroborated by suitable literary texts, and supported by very lively illustrations the various forms and types of this popular motif. Some even more than suggesting erotic ideas as *Prabhogmandana* or *Prasadhika* figures. Some may not agree fully with the author's identifications of some sensuous beauties' with the typical Śālabhañjikā motif especially where th[e] is no trace of the 'Śāla' at all. It is quite possible that the beauty of [a] young female could inspire artists unaware of the Śālabhañjikā motif [in] particular. But it has to be conceded that this 'woman-and tree mo[tif'] remained almost a fanciful obsession with Indian sculptors even [in] medieval India and the sport-motif based on popular sport in East[ern]

India became an all-India theme of artistic expression even in central and south India. The author has successfully brought out this wide dispersal of the art-motif.

The book has been well produced : printing is excellent, mistakes are very few and the illustrations clear and expressive. The book will ever remain a valued contribution to the history of ancient Indian art-traditions. May one hope, it will stimulate other scholars to take up similar studies of art-motifs depicting other Social life or Cult-forms.

B. P. Sinha



